SHATT-UL-ARAB

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF IRAQ

(From Ancient to the Present Time)

شط العرب

موجز تاريخ القطر العراقي

By

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تاليف

عبد الوحيد

رئيس الاول في الجيش الباكستاني

استاذ في الآداب وبكالوريوس في القانون

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By the same author :

The Kurds and their Country—History of the Kurdish people and description of their country.

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First Edition ... 1950
Second (Revised) Edition ... 1962

Printed at the Ideal Printing Works, Lahore

To

MY FATHER

Khan Sahib

Sheikh Abdul Hamid Khan

SHATT-UL-ARAB

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF IRAQ

موجز تاريخ القطر العراقي

IRAQ

THE ANCIENT



AND

Head of a Summerian Queen unearthed at Ur.



THE MODERN

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FOREWORD

I am glad that Captain Sheikh Abdul Waheed has written this book about our neighbour and friend—IRAQ.

I think he is right in saying that very many people in Pakistan know little about Iraq at present, and this book, I hope, will dispel this ignorance.

I have spent part of two World Wars in Iraq, and it was astounding to see the progress in every direction that had been made in Iraq between the two wars in material things—in irrigation, railways, roads and communications generally. Much has yet to be done but the association of Muslim countries which Captain Waheed advocates will assuredly help to weld these countries together for the preservation of peace and the glory of Islam.

There are few people who will spend a convalescent period in hospital so profitably. I congratulate Captain Waheed for "taking time so usefully by the forelock" and for writing this valuable book.

General
Commander-in-Chief,
Pakistan Army.

RAWALPINDI
1st November 1950.

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ADVENT OF THE MVSLIM ARABS

THE PERSIAN AND THE TURKS

PREFACE

I hope my worthy reader will not feel offended if I inform him at the very outset that my book is not concerned with the (very temporary and quite forgotton) Iraq-Iranian dispute over the Shatt-ul-Arab. Nor is there any account whatsoever of that small strip of land in between the Shatt-ul-Arab rivers. Please then don't ask me why on earth did I title my book with that eye-catching name. My answer is that I did not do so now as this book was titled 'Shatt-ul-rab' good 16 years ago. But even then that name came to my mind without any effort—perhaps because it embodied the very concept of the people and the country.

Like the Shatt-ul-Arab, Iraq is a confluence of many racial streams and faiths of far distant origin each retaining its purity and proud of the great, grand, ancient and everlasting traditions of their own. It is deep enough to carry any load but to a rash pilot the carcases of stuck-in ships are a constant reminder of watchfulness. Each stream flows separately and keeps to its own course, but at 'Shatt-ul-Arab'these all join together drowning their separate entity for

the common good of the country and the common approach to Allah, whether through Mohammad or via Jesus Christ. Thus is spread perpetually the alluvial soil brought down from top of distant mountains to constantly fertelize their land for the benefit of the rich and poor, the native and the alien alike. Iraq, like 'Shatt-ul-Arab, is perenial; pure, ever flowing, everlasting, benign, and of God given riches supports her own people at a very high standard of life.

Iraq has had a violent and a 'hot' revolution in July 1958. This revolution had to come just as a shell of an egg has to burst when it is fully hatched. But the difference between the Iraq and other revolutions is that the revolution in Iraq was consumated under the most difficult circumstances that could ever exist. Because of this revolution the entire economic and social picture of Iraq of today is completely differnt to what it was 15 years ago. This is not surprising as the youth of that time are the middle aged men of today; the 'dreamers, and the 'enthusiasts' of that time are now the actual planners and the captains of Iraq's destiny.

True to her history, Iraq has proved that merit of an action is in taking it to a successful

end. They also established that the good of humanity comes only through co-existence. Iraq has shown how Muslims can live with Christians as brothers but rtill be Christians and Muslims: how Arabs can live with the Kurdish people both retaining their own pride without imposing one's '...ism', on another's '...stan'. In this way the Government of Iraq has given a practical example of 'co-existence' and of 'toleration' to this strife torn humanity.

* * *

This second edition is exactly the same as the first edition except that I have removed printing errors, corrected spellings of various names as pointed out to me by my friend Al Saiyed Yousaf Yaqoob Miscony of the Ministry of Education, Government of the Republic of Iraq, and brought up to date some data pertaining to development projects in Iraq. Four pictures produced in this edition are due to courtesy of my friend Al Saiyed Khadaiyar Hassan. The data and the up-to-date information about development projects in Iraq I got through courtesy of His Excellency Al Saiyed Abdul Kadir-al Gaillani the renowned ambassador of the Republic of Iraq. Al Saiyed Abdul Kadir-al Gaillani

holds a unique position. He is not only an ambassador of a friendly and brotherly country and doy-en of diplomatic corps in Pakistan (being the senior most ambassador), but he is also a spiritual leader of millions of Pakistanis some of whom are very important persons indeed. I offer to all the three of them my heart felt gratitude. And of course to my wife who embodies the very spirit of Iraq, and quite understandably, is the perenial source of my interest in her country.

No. 0
Peshawar Road — A. Waheed
Rawalpindi — 12th February 1962

Author's Preface to the First Edition

(Unaltered except for marginal notes and brackted words.)

It was in the 'Baghdad Mail' on my way from Shuaiba to Baghdad sometimes mid Nov 1946 that I met an English speaking Iraqi and a brief chat with him opened my eyes as to the amount of zeal that almost every young Arab had for the cause of World Islamic Brotherhood. The interest shown and enthusiasm exhibited by almost every educated Arab about Pakistan (the word. Pakistan at that time was nothing more than a political

slogan) sometime surpassed the interest of an average (the then) Indian Musulman.

The amount of interest shown by that Iraqi gentleman and the extent of information he possessed about Islamic countries made me search my heart as to how much did I know about Islamic world other than that of mine own.

Iraq to me was just an Arab state. A place which 20 years ago was called Mesopotamia and where there were the sacred shrines at Najaf, Kerbala, Koofa and that of 'Imam-a-Azam'. Beyond that I confess I knew no more. This lack of information on my part about one of the most important Muslim states put me on a track to know more and more about that country. From then onward almost every week-end was spent either in the Baghdad museum or spending cold winter nights in a hut outside a small museum at Babylon. That is how I collected first hand information about ancient Iraq. About "Modern Iraq" the printed works in English are very few and hard to obtain. Most widely circulated news-paper in English is 'Iraq Times' the management of *which is heavily staffed by the Jews and the

* In 1946-47

Hindus—naturally therefore giving that paper a pro Jewish, Hindoo and Indian bias.*

A striking feature of the people of Iraq is the extreme brotherly relations existing between the Christians and the Muslims irrespective of their being an Arab, an Assyrian, a Turk, an Armenian or a Kurd. After all there is no difference between the antecedents and fundamentals of Christainity; Christianity as preached by Jesus Christ, and that of Islam. Both the Christians and Mussalmans are Ahl-al-Kitab and both of them stem from the same root.

One word about the Christian. Generally speaking-Christians in Iraq are better Christians, better both in letter and the spirit of Christianity, better than others of European Christians. They are more religious. They are more Christian like and they practice Christianity in their daily life. Of course they understand Muslims and Islam better than known to even many Muslims themselves in many parts of the world. Iraqi Christians are proud of being Christians and Arabs. They dress themselves as the Arab do and of course Arabic is their mother tongue as they are the descendents of real

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★ This was the state of affairs in 1946-47, of course it is completely changed now.

original Arabs. Tel-Kaifee Christians wear beautiful long beards and their faces are so innocent, honest and good looking that one believes straight away that surely Jesus Christ must have been one of them and from the same stock.

Early in 1947 a group composed of Iraqi and some of the Muslims stationed in Iraq cropped up, the symbol of which was the three Arabic words standing for unity of the Muslims and Christians of the Middle Eastern countries. At the moment it was just a dream but very soon that dream might become as real as the dream of Pakistan. Their case was that almost all the Muslims and Christians living in the East in a solid block, then why not break the shakles imposed on both of them by the exegencies and requirements of the imperialist countries.

The position visualized could be as follow,

(a) The Union of the Mussalmans and Christians living in S. E. Asia-East Pakistan can play a dominent part where in Dacca, among others, the Armenian Church is a 300 years old institution.

(b) For the union of the Mussalmans and Christians living in the Middle East. Jeruslam

in Palestine was proposed to be Centre of both the Unions.

Almost all of them being army officers, they naturally visualized something morecloser and firmer than mere 'alliances and treaties'.

The very first thing they could think about was a plan for putting in a complete uniformity in the armed forces of the United States of Middle Eastern countries. Military training, equipment, and the training of senior staff was to be brought on a uniform standard within the 'Union', (Pakistan luckily, having the finest institution in the East for training senior army staff officers, can offer the services of the Quetta Staff College to the rest of the Middle Eastern countries).

In addition to the armies maintained by each state, there be maintained a few 'Mixed Divisions', mixed in a sense, that a Division staioned at Peshawar (Pakistan) be composed of an Iranian, Iraqi and a Turkish brigade. Another Divison stationed, say at Mosul (Iraq) be composed of a Pak, Egyptian and a Lebanese Brigade, and so on. The system of having mixed Brigade and Divisions will automatically solve the problems of language, equipment, training and administration. It will also bring closer the people of one

country with the soldiery of another Muslim country.*

These 'mixed divisions' be maintained out of funds of respective country's exchequer and their supply and ordnance replenishment to be the responsibility of each Federating State. This has been done during this (1939-45) war and is a workable possibility. Secondly, the fighting services being symbol of the soverignty of each state, the mixing of these sevices:and holding the :mixed group: under one command, will,ipso facto be a step towards creation of a super Soverign: authority thereby cementing all the middle Eastern countries together once and for all.

*   *   *

This pamphlet has been written almost entirely during my stay iu the Military Hospital Karachi. The material for this pamphlet was collected during my stay in Iraq—the extracts from manuscripts, cuttings from various newspapers and notes from important docum-

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*1. During early years of publication of the first edition of this book, the very idea of a Command composed of Multi National Formations was scoffed at till the establishmenf of NATO H.Q. The events of the past 16 years in the Middle East appear to realize in concrete shape what was dreamed of as early as 1946.

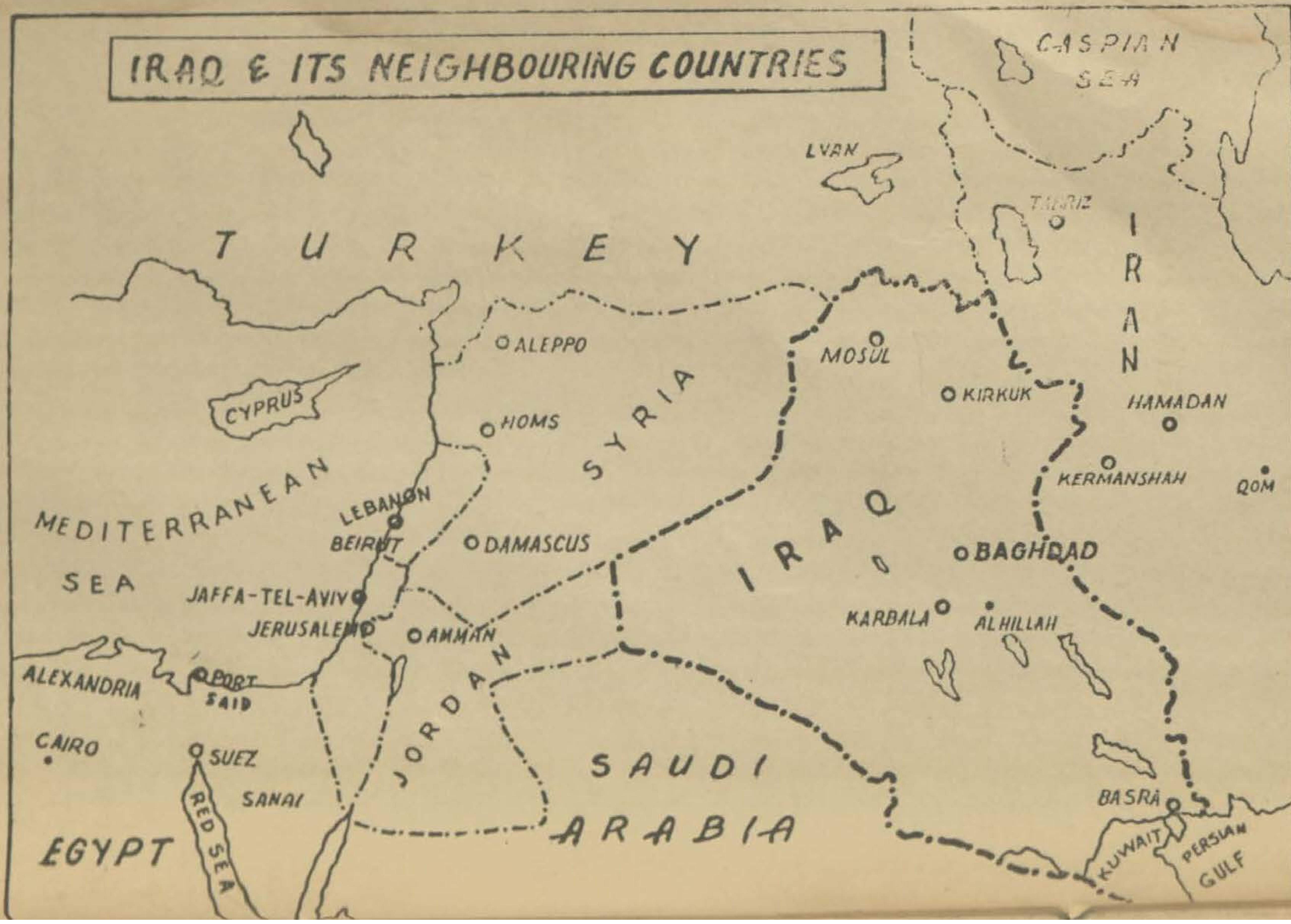
ents lying in the Baghdad Museum were brought down with me and I actually started my work on the first day of my convalescence early 48 in Ward No 21 C. M. H. Karachi.*

In this connection I thank Capt: (now Colonel) S.A. Jaffery, the Matron (Miss Dyers) and the staff of C.M.H. Karachi who always helped me and provided facilities even during the period of my illness and also during the convalescence period during my stay in the C.M.H. (now Naval Hospital) Karachi.

57 Afghanistan Lines. A. Waheed.
Malir Cantt. 16 June 1948

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* Now known as P.N.H.' Karachi.


IRAQ & ITS NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES
CASPIAN SEA
LVAN
TURKEY
IRAN
ALEPPO
MOSUL
KIRKUK
HAMADAN
CYPRUS
HOMS
SYRIA
KERMANSHAH
QOM
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
BEIRUT
DAMASCUS
IRAQ
BAGHDAD
JAFFA-TEL-AVIV
JERUSALEM
AMMAN
KARBALA
AL HILLAH
ALEXANDRIA
PORT SAID
JORDAN
CAIRO
SUEZ
SAUDI ARABIA
SANAI
BASRA
EGYPT
RED SEA
KUWAIT
PERSIAN GULF

I

INTRODUCTION

SHORT DISCRIPTION :

The frontiers of modern Iraq have a background in political exigency. The modern Iraq comprises of four distinct regions whose geographical nature is as diverse as the ethnical character of its people.

In the north are the undulating pastures and plough lands of the old Turkish Villayat of Mosul. In the south is the alluvial plain reclaimed by the rivers from the headwaters of the Persian Gulf. To the west is a substantial slice of the Arabian Desert and the east is delimited by the mountaineous Kurdistan and Luristan.

Among the principal cities of Iraq ; starting from south, are Basrah, a very ancient town and a seaport, Marqil and Ashshar, the former being a semi military cantonment and the latter is nothing but an extension and the "modern portion" of bigger Basrah, Eight miles inland from Basrah is the ancient town of Zubair. Zubair is well known for historic buildings and shrines. It is also a proverbial town for an "underground" market for any concievable article in the world.

To the north east of Basrah ae the vast marsh lands of Muntafiq Liva. Here the ground is still in a process of being drying up due to recession of the Persian Gulf and is mostly inhabited by nomadic tribes whose main occupation is tending buffaloes.

North of Muntafiq is the town Kut by the banks of river Tigris. About 150 miles up to the North, touching the border of Iran is Khanaquin—a small town and a rail-head.

Now, going up from Basrah towards Baghdad, about 140 miles to the north comes an historic town Ur, Ur of the Chaldies. After another 80 miles comes Hilla, a fairly big town and a railway station for visitors to Babel (ancient Babylon). From Hilla there is a bus service to sacred towns of Karbela, Najaf and Koofa. From Hindiyya about 80 miles to the north is Baghdad—the capital of Iraq. Baghdad, famous for its ancient romance and modern beauty and a centre of Arab and Muslim culture.

From Baghdad goes a railway line to Kirkuk's world famous oilfields, touching the borders of Iran. Another track goes straight to Mosul. Mosul is a very important town in Iraq. It is not only situated in one of the greatest oil producing areas in Iraq, but is also a

beauty spot and a health resort. Strategically, it is close to the borders of Turkey and Russia.

There are quite a few other towns of lesser importance but of great historical significance which will be described later on.

THE GROUND:

Iraq is an immense expanse of stoneless flat soil. Except for a few *mounds* scattered on the surface (these mounds, invariably are ancient burried cities) the ground is just an expanse of soil and sand for hundreds of miles. This ground is very fertile. Where water is procured through an ancient mechanism green orchards of dates and crops are curious contrast to the flat brown soil and sand.

Through this area the two important rivers Euperates and Tigris have meandered for seven millennia, changing their courses continually, often splitting into several branches but latterly always reuniting above the modern city of Basrah to complete their course in a single great channel called the *Shatt-ul-Arab*.

These two rivers, specially when nearing delta, flow at a level a few feet higher than the rest of the plain thus endangering the adjoining areas to flood, particularly in the

spring time when the snow melts on the mountains of Kurdistan and Anatolia.

There being no rainfall in Iraq except for a few days in the month of January, the country depends for its cultivation entirely on artificial irrigation. Iraq is a country where summer shade temperature runs up to 130 F and there is no rainfall for about 10 months in a year and hence the distribution of water to crops and to human beings is of vital importance.

It is here that the engineering side of irrigation was already on its zenith during the Babylonian times and the ruins of ancient waterways confirm to testimony that Iraq was once one of the greatest grannaries of the world. Ancient chronicles show that up till the end of the thirteenth century A. D. an immensely greater area of the land was under cultivation than at present, and the obsolete irrigation system can still easily be traced in canals half chocked with sand blown by terrific sandstorms. The Euphrates, as to day, flowed at a slightly higher level than the Tigris. This permitted irrigation from the one and drainage into the other, so that succession of almost parallel canals ran diagonally between the two rivers; other great canals were

diverted from the Tigris by a barrage in its pre-historic estuary to irrigate great tracts of fertile country on either side, and another artificial barrier again split it into two streams in the south.

Today each river has a modern barrage serving a similar purpose, the Tigris at Kut and the Euphrates at Hindiyya, but both are situated low down towards the delta and this commands a greatly reduced area for cultivation. The possibility of reservoir on one of the upper tributaries of the Tigris is also being seriously considered. This reservoir will prevent useless flooding in the spring time thus releasing extra water previously conserved during the dry season.

The present yield of the land in Iraq is merely a scratch of its immense potentialities. The present cultivation system in Iraq is extensive rather than intensive in a sense that light amount of work is put into a large area. Later on when inadequate drainage produce salting, that piece of land is left over and the farmer hops to another one.

Only recently modern machinery driven by petrol has been brought into use. In and around Baghdad and specially near dates gardens these bull-dozers and tractors, one can see, are being used. Irrigation has also

been improved by substituting modern oil engine pumps for the primitive "lift".

Wheat and barley are grown in winter and rice, maize, sorghum and sesame in summer. Cotton could play a large part in the future development of Iraq's agriculture, as American upland types have been found to give a profitable yield, and there are already several ginneries. Generally speaking annual rather than perenniel crops are suited to Iraq's peculiar climate.

LAND TENURE :

An enquiry into the system of land tenure in Iraq takes us back to the Ottoman and pre-Ottoman days of Mesopotamia.

The arrival of Midhat Pasha as a Wali in Baghdad on the 30th of April 1869 marks a new era in the history of land settlement in Iraq. Land settlement before Midhat Pasha was nothing but a chaos. Mere long possession both by villagers and the sheikhs of wild tribal areas, led them to claim the holdings as *de facto* "mulk". Government's denial of such claims (with consequent crushing demand rates and scant security of tenure created uneasy conditions fatal to settlement.) All agrarian improvements were checked by the absence of definite rights, and the tribes perceived that to settle only exposed them

to easier exaction and punishment.

Midhat Pasha's method was to sell for little and easy payments large or small tracts of state land upon terms giving full security of tenure (though not actual ownership) to holders of the doubtfully valid rights and to farmers and buyorildis of an earlier age; to villagers who had reclaimed a canal or planted garden; and most important, to the Sheikhs of tribes of their tribal areas. 'Tapu' offices were opened, registers filled and titles issued after payment of first instalments.

The ever increasing areas of Iraq could be termed as "Meri Tapu" (state owned land) whose occupation was secured, with important reservation, to individual holders. The basis of present system is a continuation of the policy laid down by Midhat Pasha.

In broad principles, proprietorship of cultivation is divided between townsmen, water pump owner and tribal Sheikhs. In the case of "Meri Tapu" (state owned land) the tenant proprietors are the tribal Sheikhs. The actual tillers of land are the members of that tribe who get their remuneration by share system—the following example will make it more clear.

(a) In the case of "Meri Tapu" with the title given to the Sheikh, and if the Sheikh

pays for the seed, the produce is divided into 3 parts, one third goes to the Government and one third to the Sheikh and the rest to the tribal members.

(b) If the Sheikh does not pay for the seed, his share is one sixth, the Government takes one third and the remaining belongs to the tribesmen.

(c) If the land title is in the name of tribe as a whole but registered in the Sheikh's name, the Sheikh gets ten per cent and the remainder belongs to the tribesmen, after paying the duty to the Government.

(d) If the land is owned by the Sheikh, the Government gets one fifth of the produce and the remainder is divided equally between Sheikh and the tribal members. This had been the system till the July 1958 revolution in Iraq.

The tenant has to deposite a small sum with the Sheikh, he has also to make contribution of a few fulous (a few annas) to the Sheikh "kahwa man", to Sheikh's water distributor and to the mosque and the mullah. In fact the tenants though not paid handsomely for their toil and labour, are still in a better position than many of the tenants in an Indian village.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES :

Iraq, as I have said before, had been a strange land of contrasts : a land of the rich and the poor, of great men and of dusty tombs.

Most contrary to the impression that a casual visitor may get, Iraq is a very rich country. The standard of wealth of the people could not be adequately obtained by the standard of their dress.

Sometimes it becomes unbelievable when we find a very shabby looking, poorly dressed Iraqi making bargains to the extent of thousands of Iraqi Dinars (each Dinar equivalent to £1) and such transactions are not uncommon everyday in bazars of Basrah and Baghdad.

How has an average Iraqi become so rich ? Here is the answer.

1. The peculiar habits of an average Iraqi are very sound and healthy. Iraqi young or old believes in actual work more of physical nature than of mental. Contrary to the wrong notions held by an average educated Indian and Pakistani (incidently these "notions" are a legacy of the ancient Brahminical artificial creation of cast system), great dignity is attached to labour in Iraq.

2. Everybody works in Iraq. If there are six members of a family young and old,

male and female all or most of them must work and earn their own living. In an Indian and Pakistani family there are far too many 'drones' in a family. This I believe is a vital factor, in addition to the natural resources of Iraq and of inner vitality of Iraqi people. The Iraqi Budget for the year 1947-48 was as follows. Compared with the present budget it was a very modest and shrunk indeed.

Expenditure including Auqaf
added up to I D. 2,90,00,000

Total Revenue, up to I D. 2,78,50,000

(This, of course was a year showing small deficit) 1948-49's budget was a tremendous increase on the pre-War estimates, which stood at around I D. 50,00,000.

State expenditure for 1947-48 was estimated at I D. 2,31,36,200 with revenue at I. D. 2,16,10,000 recording a deficit of I. D. 1,526,200. The Directorate of Iraq State Railways showed a balanced budget for the year, spending D. 33,70,000 and earning an equal amount.

The port of Basrah, the expenditure of which was put at D. 13,29,920 had a surplus of D. 49,600—its expenditure for the year estimated at D. 6,36,400. The highest surplus was earmarked against Iraq Currency Board

at D. 3,13,538 with expenditure at D. 3,47,462 and Revenue amounting to D 8,51,000.

The department yielding highest revenue to the state was that of Customs and Excise which was estimated to provide during the year D. 85,00,000, the best part of it, to the tune of D. 59,00,000 was put against duty levied on imported goods, tobacco duty furnishing another D. 1,000,000, spirituous beverages D. 4,17,300 and emergency duties D. 2,99,000.

Next highest revenue figure amounting to D. 40,00,000 came from taxation on agricultural and natural products, the former yielding D. 26,71,000 in the form of Ishtilak Duty. Livestock tax was at the same time estimated to bring D. 7,24,000 and land tax (Agricultural) D. 5,00,000 to the state. Revenue from income-tax for the year was put at D. 14,50,000.

The Directorate General of Posts and Telegraphs Department, a profit making Department was estimated to yield D. 8,72,100 during the financial year 1947-48. The largest single lumpsum amounting to D. 2,80,000 being put against Telephone subscription, postage stamps to bring in a further D. 225,000 telegraph fees D. 1,85,000 and postal and telegraphic service D. 10,00,000.

The Government of Republic of Iraq is

very keen on helping and expanding the national tobacco and cigarettes manufacture. Locally made cigarettes are quite good In the budget of 1947 too, we find the Tobacco Monoply Scheme put down for D 2.000,000 earnings tobacco revenue D. 1,640,000 and the sale of cigarette paper D. 3,000,000. The Supply Department in 1947 was estimated to yield D. 376,000. Compare this budget with all those that followed it and then with the latest one. You will then realize the rate of progress made by Iraq within a short period of 13 years. This progress is really marvellous.

An average government servant in Iraq is well paid, well-dressed ; is well-fed and well-mannered. He is loyal to the established government.

The Republican Government is well determined to root out corruption and bribery from its servants, specially from the Police Department.

An Iraqi policeman is very smart and agile, specially the traffic control police constable dressed in black and white tunic and trousers performs his duties quite admirably. He is polite and possesses high sense of humour.

In July, 1947, Ministry of Supply, Iraq

Government decided to issue 12 yards of material for suiting purposes free of any charge to every Iraqi government servant receiving the pay between 1 D. 15...to D. 18—Since then welfare of particularly low paid government servant has always been looked after.

Oils and its bye-products still remain the principal wealth of the country. Iraq with improved agricultural method, extended irrigation, more capital and industrialieation would be able to support population many times its present size.

Its post-war economic problems are the same as those of any other country in the world. Inflation as else where is the most ugliest of all. The currency issue rose from a pre-war figure of D. 4,50,00,000 to D. 3,74,75,772 (June 1947) of these D. 34,47,671 were in notes. The Currency Reserve Fund up to the end of June 1947 amounted to D. 4,09,64,395. Economic developments now have pumped in more currency which at the moment is off set by liberal imports allowing more goods to be available at cheaper price. But there is a limit even to this sort of solution. The present regime is therefore determined to produce more and more goods indigenously thus improving the lot of the common man. This inflation in

Iraq is not a true inflation however in as much as the government credit are sound. At the moment the Iraqi Dinar is the most sound currency in the Middle East. In open market atDamascus and other neighbouring countries —an Iraqi Dinar fetches more local currency than even the Sterling Pound.

In July 1947, the Chamber of Deputies passed law to establish a New Central Bank of Iraq—whose main function (in the words of the then Iraqi Premier Sayied Saleh Jabr) was to supervise, mint and issue Iraqi currency. It was in July 1947 that three important bills were also passed by the Deputies—the bill to amend the Iraqi Currency Law, the bill for the Central Bank Law, and the bill for the Foreign Exchange Law.

THE PEOPLE :

Iraq has an area of about 170,000 square miles. The census of October, 1947 showed the total population of Iraq as 4,794,449. The latest figure is about 5.5 million. Of this total of five and a half million, Baghdad alone claims 6,00,000 souls and the population of greater Baghdad now is about 1500,000. Religious and racial composition is : 4.3, million Muslim (Arabs, Suni, Shia and the Kurds) ; and the rest of the population is about equally divided between the Christians, i.e. the Arme-

nians, the Assyrians and the Chaldian sects and a sprinkling of those belonging to the later European Christian Churches. Composition of Iraq people (like that of Pakistan) is a basic factor in determining the course of her history. In this as in many other aspects there is a great similarity between Iraq and Pakistan. The latest census shows that a major portion of the whole country's population is centralized in and around modern Baghdad. Considering even the present population of Iraq which is five and a half million, and the area and particularly virility of the people, Iraq is capable of accommodating a still bigger population.

Iraq is moving fast towards amenities of modern age. A new and a more up-to-date railway station for the capital has already been built, not far away from "Baghadad West" railway station. A new and a more powerful radio transmitter has been installed on a hillock near Baghdad.

Most up-to-date schemes for supplying drinking water and electric power to various towns was initiated in 1947. A general survey of towns was conducted and a plan was made to supply the immediate local requirement as well as leaving a

substantial margin for future expansion for the next 15 years catering for an annual population increase at the rate of 25 souls per 1,000.

Capacity of water supply plants has been worked out at the rate of 25 gallons per head. Baghdad has changed beyond recognition. Two new bridges opened up roads and widened streets have improved tremendously the lot of the common man. The growing number of automobiles in Iraq made widening of roads an imperative necessity. Road accidents have therefore been reduced to minimum.

The overall programme based on the recommendations of a committee formed to study the needs of various places in the country is designed to cater for populated centres of 5,000 and above bodies, population between 5,000 and 10,000, population between 10,000 and 20,000, and above.

Among the less important towns (i.e. excluding towns like Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Amara, Hindiyya, Kirkuk and Najaf) filtered water supply has now been made available for Suwaira Mahmoodiya and al Aziziyyah. Economic development and general improvement have permeated right down to even a small town and village.

The plan for supplying filtered water and electric supply includes various other towns like Meqdadiyah, Haiy, Abu Skhair, Afak, Daghghara, Hamza, Rumitha and Faisaliyyah. Kal'at Sahib and Rifa'i are only to have water works for the present.

Mosul has been installed with a new waterworks and power station. The water works is designed to supply the maximum of 80,00,000 gallons a day and two generating sets of 3,000 k. w. each and this additional energy will supplement the existing station of 1,200 k. w. peak load. The new power station of Bab-ul-Baidh is the for-runner of future expansion in Mosul envisaging the installation of 600 k. w. sets at the site.

The new generating sets each of 200 k.w. have greatly raised Hilla's supply of electricity. Provision has been made in the building for the accommodation of eight similar sets. Another scheme of replacing the already worn out sets at Karbala, Najaf, Amara and Nasiriyya is well under way and the equipment has already been procured and installed. This by no way is a mean achievement and for the successful culmination of which the credit goes to Sayyid Abdul Razzaq Shkara, the then Director General of Municipalities and Local Bodies.

Economic Development.

"Proceeds of the bowel of the earth are used for developing the surface of the earth," thus summed up an intelligent Iraqi the policy of his Government towards country's economic developments.

Considering the total population of about 60,00,000 and the area of 1,68,500 square miles particularly comparing it with the population density of the rest of the Asian countries, Iraq definitely is sparsely populated, hence capable of sustaining a large population at a much higher standard of living. With this end in view and for the purpose of devising a balanced development programme, the Government of Iraq officially requested the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development to undertake economic survey of the country with a view to undertaking a general review of Iraq's economic potentialities and to submit recommendations designed to assist the Government to formulate a long term programme for further development of the country's productive resources specially considering :—

(a) Investment priorities as among different sectors of the Iraqi economy and as among types of undertakings within each important sector :

(b) The approximate rate of investment which can appropriately be undertaken without inflationary and other disruptive effects :

(c) Measures apart from capital investment necessary for improving and increasing production :

(d) Gearing of economic and fiscal policy to the economic development of the country : and

(e) Poising the Governmental Organizations towards rapid developments.

Consequently the Bank submitted a comprehensive study of existing potential alongwith the chances of further development of those factors that could bring for Iraq an all time well rounded economy. At the moment Iraqi oil still remains the one single factor that matters both in her economy as well as in her politics—domestic as well as foreign. But reinvestment of a major portion of oil revenue in the economic development of the country has been made imperative under the law, consequently authorizing the Ministry of Development and the Development Board together to spend £48,80,00,000 in the first phase (5/6 years) of an all comprehensive long term development plan aimed towards general improvement in Agriculture. Industry, Communications, Housing, Health, Recreation,

Education, Culture and Development of holiday resorts.

In this brief summary of Iraq's history I will take only some of the important feature of (i) Agricultural and of (ii) Industrial development.

(i) Agricultural Development.

(a) *Land Reforms.* Basis of agricultural development is the holding per capita of land which was controlled to some extent by land reforms under the old regime when large pieces of land were given to the actual tiller and the cultivator. The present progressive regime has further limited the extent of land to be possessed by big Sheikhs and the landlords. It has thus created incentive for the actual cultivator to get maximum yield out of his holdings. The Land Reforms Law promulgated two years ago by the Government of Iraq resembles very much with the Land Reforms Regulation of Pakistan. Both the Laws limit land holdings and distribute the remainder to the actual tillers; both provide adequate compension to dispossessed proprietors also prescribing rigorous imprisonment and fines to those who violate the Land Reforms Laws. Under the Iraqi Law, land holding is limited to about 250 hectares each for irrigated land and about 500 hectares for

non-irrigated land. The land to be distributed to peasants will be allocated in parcels ranging from 7.5 hectares to 15 hectares for irrigated land and from about 15 to 30 hectares for non-irrigated land. Dispossessed land owners would be given treasury bonds at 3 per cent interest redeemable in 20 years, and a special commission would manage the confiscated holdings pending redistribution.

Next comes provisions of water which the government is trying hard to achieve by construction of high dams both to provide power as well as control and regulate the flow of water to prevent floods, and, to provide continuous irrigations throughout the year.

(b) **Water Control Projects**.

Habbaniyeh Project : This is one of the important projects constructed to control waters of the Euphrates River. The farms and towns lying along the river were saved by this project from the calamities brought by flood which also entailed damages and loses every year. The volume of water flowing in the river during flood season being large, there was therefore no question of controlling these waters at the upper parts of the river before the flows arrive at the southern river basin where the capacity of the river stream is narrow, causing the water to over-

flow on both banks and cause severe damage and grave losses. In the past several attempts to avoid damages caused by floods and to control the waters of the Euphrates were made. It was planned even during the Ottoman regime to make use of the Habbaniyeh Depression for the storage of excess water by means of a channel connecting the river to the Habbaniyeh Lake. Excavations began in 1913 but the World War I caused the work to stop until 1932 when some amendments were made on the original project of which a third channel connecting the lake to the river for returning the water back to the latter was introduced.

The project was re-activated in 1939. only to be shelved again during World War II except: for the excavation of the Majerah Escape and the construction of the relative regulators which were completed in 1941. This decision was because of the experiences of the high floods of 1940 and 1943 to re-excavate the inlet channel at the Warrar location. The discharge capacity of the regulator was also increased to, 2,800 cumecs.

Immediately on establishment of the Development Board, it undertook this project and reconsidered the storage capacity of the Habbaniyeh Lake, the discharge of the

Majerrah Regulator and the heightening of the Lake bunds with a view to raising the water level from 49.5 meters to 51 meters thus increasing the capacity of the Lake to about 3.2 milliard cubic meters. The construction of a barrage across the Euphrates upstream Ramadi for the control of the river waters, and for raising and diverting the water to the Habbniyeh Lake through the Warrar Regulator and Channel was also considered. This would limit the water discharge down-stream the barrage to 2,500 cucecs. This quantity of water can flow without affecting the river course or threatening the bunds on the river banks downstream the Ramadi Barrage or breaking through the bunds elsewhere. The Ramadi Barrage consists of 24 vents each 6 meters in width with side pavements for pedestrians each 1.5 meters in width. The length of the barrage is 209 meters : it includes a navigation lock and a fish-ladder. The iron sluice gate are operated by electric power or manually should there be a power breakdown.

In addition to water control, the Habbaniyeh Lake serves for the storage of 3.2 milliard cubic meters of water for feeding the river in the draught season. It will also assist the supply of sufficient water to lands

presently under cultivation.

On April 5, 1960, the Republic of Iraq Government of officially celebrated the opening of the Habbaniyeh Project.

It appears that the Habbaniyeh Lake alone is not capable of storing sufficient quantities of waterfor the exploitation of lands lying along the Euphrates, neither it could be used for complete flood control. As the quantity of water-flow in this river depends on the extent of consumption by the Syrian farmers it was therefore found necessary to study the possibility of locating sites for storing water within the Iraqi border.

Tharthar Project : This project which was recently completed aims at the reduction of flood flows on the Tigris River, and the supply of water to the Ishaqi Project, It consists of a barrage across the Tigris, opposite Samarra city, to raise and divert the water to the Wadi Tharthar Depression, and of protective bunds constructed over a length of 65 k.m. for passing the excess flow of water of the depression. The water level will be raised at the Barrage from 63 m. to 69 meters. This elevation will help to divert into the depression up to 9,000 cumecs of the water

discharge of the Tigris during the flood season.

The Tharthar Project is divided into two main parts :—

Farl I : This consists of earth work for the construction of the bunds and the excavation of the channel. This was completed in 1956.

Part II : This includes the head installation which have since been completed.

The head installation covered by this contract includes a main barrage across the Tigris to be built on a dry bed opposite Samarra city. The water of the Tigris River was thereafter diverted after blocking the present river bed by means of an earth dam erected at the site of the present bridge. The barrage consists of 17 vents, each 12 meters wide equipped with sluice-gates of the Stoney Gate type operated by electric power ; and also by hand should there be a power break-down. The barrage is also used as a bridge for Samarra city instead of the present bridge. Alongwith and parallel to Samarra Barrage, the Tharthar Regulator was constructed. This consists of 36 vents, each 12 meters vide equipped with sluice-gates capable of passing 9,000 cumecs of flood water to the Tharthar

Depression. The Ishaqi Canal in take regulator is included in the structure of the barrage.

The highest discharge of the Tigris River near Samarra was estimated at about 12,000 cumecs. It will, therefore, be possible by the Tharthar Project to control the flood of the river. Thus, the highest discharge downstream the barrage will not exceed 7,000 cumecs. The plans of the Samarra Barrage include provisions for electric power generation also.

Dokhan Reservoir Project: In 1951 it was proposed to construct a concrete arch-dam at Dokhan gorge at the Lesser Zab River. Later in 1953 the original plan was modified and it was proposed to construct an arch-dam to a height of 116 meters and a length of 360 meters fitted with five steel lined outlets each 3.65 meters in diameter for the passage of water to generate electric power. Maximum storage capacity of the reservoir will be 6.8 billion cubic meters. It was also planned to construct a tunnel 12.5 meters in diameter on the left bank of the river to divert its course during the construction of the dam. This tunnel will be used later as a spill way to carry away the excess quantities of water.

Batma Barrage on the Lesser Zab: This barrage is considered as part of the Dokhan Project as it will be constructed on the Lesser Zab to raise the water supplied by the Dokhan Reservoir for the irrigation of Makhmour lands and the expansion of Haweeja Project. It will also divert the surplus water through a feeder to be excavated later, on the Udhaim River.

This work includes the construction of a regulator at the right bank, at the head of Makhamour Canal, the expansion of the Haweeja Regulator on the left bank, and a regulator for the Udhaim Feeder Canal.

Al-Udhaim Barrage: A barrage on Al-Udhaim River was essential to raise the level of the water supplied from Dokan Reservoir to Al-Udhaim through the feeder channel, for irrigation of land situated on the right bank of Al-Udhaim (total area estimated at 2,14,C00 mesharas) and Al-Gharaf lands situated on the left bank of Al-Udhaim (total area estimated at 6,62,000 mesharas).

Geological studies of the damsite have been carried out at Damir Kapu. It is believed that the site at Damir Kapu is suitable for the erection of a dam to a height of 60 meters with a storage capacity of 3 milliard

cubic meters,and capable of generating electric power estimated at 1,38,000 k.w.

The Director General of Survey, surveyed during 1955-56 the Ghurafa District together with the lands situated at the right bank of Al-Udhaim River to ascertain the areas which could be irrigated and to determine its topography. This project has not yet gone farther than its planning stage.

Derbend-i-Khan Reservoir : The Derbend-i-Khan Project is situated in the north-eastern district of Iraq between Kirkuk and Diyala Liwas, where the Diyala River cuts across in the north-eastern and south-eastern direction a deep gorge called Derbend-i-Khan, cutting in the meantime the mountainous chain of Paranindagh.

Bekhme Reservoir Project : In May 1952, the Board entrusted an Engineering Company with the task of studying the Bekhme Project on the Greater Zab. This project will be utilized for reducing the pressure of flood-water and for the generation of electric power, besides serving as a reservoir for supplying the Tigris River with water during the summer season.

The consultants conducted investigations to determine a suitable site. Selecting the entrance to Bekhme Gorge, because of the

presence there of formation containing some of the best lime-stone in Iraq which is resistant to infiltration or dissolution in water.

This reservoir is situated in Erbil Liwa in north-eastern Iraq in the gorge through which the greater Zab passes, and within the chain of Peer-Dagh mountains. It could be reached through Shaqlawa-Rayat Road. The Development Board commenced work for opening a road begining from Aqra through Zinta Gorge, and thereafter to the Dam site. This road will be used for transporting machinery, equipment and construction materials to the site.

A company which was entrusted with construction work submitted its initial report and proposals and selected a 'heavy-buttress' type of dam, as being most suitable for this location, with a final height of 165 meters. This will make it the highest dam of its kind in the world. This dam is planned to be constructed in two stages :—

Stage 1. The dam will be constructed to a height of 115 meters or 500 meters above sea-level, with a storage capacity of 3 milliard cubic meters of water.

Stage 2. The dam will be heightened up to 550 meters above sea-level. Its final height will then become 165 meters with a storage

capacity of 8.3 milliard cubic meters. The water will inundate an area of 140 square kilometers.

The operation of the Dam. however, will be possible in its first stage, while work on the second is being carried out.

The electric power that could be generated is estimaed at 60,00,000 kw. 27,00,0C0 kw / hr.

The huge quantities of storage water will irrigate about 6.6 million mesharas of land cultivated at present according to fallow system. About 25 million mesharas of 'new' lands in the Tigris River basin, particularly within the Nehrawan and Gharraf Projects will also be cultivated on a 'dense' system.

Industrial Development.

The giant oil industry of Iraq seem to have over shadowed all other aspects of industrial development. It has its advantage in being the bed rock and the pay master for all other development programmes but one of the possible dangers of this colossus is the tendency to take for granted the perpetuity of this source of income as well as an attitude of ignoring tho seindustries that may be less lucrative now as compared to oil—though nevertheless of extreme national importance in the long run. The

important of them are the textile industry, the fertilizer manufacturing industry and the recently fast developing jute goods industry.

Oil production in Iraq by December, 1960, has reached the annual average production of 40 million tons. This figure is expected to be increased to the annual average of 50 million tons.

The total production of the Iraqi Petroleum Company during the year 1960 was 33,0410 tons and it is expected to rise up to 35 million tons.

Iraq's oil revenues in 1960 have exceeded 90,000,008 dinars.

Iraq's oil export during 1960 was about 40 million tons and oil revenues over 96 crores.

Textile Industry: Uptil recently the Indian textile industry had monopolized not only Iraqi but the entire market of the Persian gulf ports. Cheap cotton cloth specially made Indian mills for the Arab countries had made by the local Arab Governments almost forgetful of the importance of indigenous Textile production. This stituation was furthur strengthened by continued persistance of Indian currency in the important Persian gulf ports of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qattar and

Muscat thus retaining a firm lucrative ground for the Indians to dump their textile goods into Arab markets. Iraq being the most progressive of all the Arab countries of that region, is bound to replace the Indian textile goods by the 'Arab fabrics' in the Persian gulf ports. This would bring for the Arabs not only superior goods at competative rates but also bring for Iraq a well deserved and lagitimate political influence in a strategically vital spots for Arab countries. There is no reasons whatsoever why Iraq should not oust the 'Hindi fabric' from her own markets and also out of all the Arab cities of the Persian Gulf region. At the moment Iraq has had a good start and faces a very promising future. Iraq currently has two textile factories, one at Kadhimiyah and the other at Mosul. The new textile mill established at Kut is estimated to produce 30 million square meter of cotton fabric and 632 tons of yarn by 1963. In 1958, however, Iraq imported 9 millins square meter of cotton textile.

Heavy Industries: There are surface indications of existence of iron, copper, zinc and chrome-ore. Coal is not indispensible as oil, gas because hydro-electricity is more than enough to make up for coal deficiences. Development of these industries will even-

tually provide the 'Machines' required to fabricate goods made out of the fast developing agricultural products. Labour in Iraqi is very skilful, intelligent and more hard-working than their counterparts of the Indo-Pak sub-continent.

Jute Goods Industry: Iraq has recently set up jute goods mills in co-operation with Pakistan. This industry has already shaken foreign business-men of jute goods and has taken a lot of business out of the hitherto Hindu Marwari jute exporters.

Fertilizer Manufacturing Industry: Need for superior fertilizer is bound to be felt with increase in the acreage caused by improved irrigation. Therefore the largest and perhaps the most promising possibility lies in this field is the utilization of the natural gas produced in conjunction with oil and now almost totally wasted. The mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development while painfully analysing factors for rapid economic development of Iraq, strongly recommended erection of plant using natural gas and gypsum as raw material capable of producing annually 5,00,000 tons of amonium sulphate fertilizer, 10,00,000 tons of elemental sulpher, 10,000 tons of carbon black and 3,00,000 tons of cement. Since

the natural gas contains about 10.5 percent of hydrogen sulphide by volume it would be worth while to establish a plant to recover sulphur from all the gas produced. Part of the clean gas would then be cracked thermally, producing hydrogen after removal of the carbon black. In the (most important) part of the plant the hydrogen and nitrogen won by removing carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide from the flue gases would be synthesized under high pressure into ammonia. Ammonia and carbon dioxide would then be passed through a *Slury* of finely ground gypsum yielding calcium carbonate and ammonia sulphate. The latter would be sold as fertilizer and the farmer used to make cement.

Educational Developments.

In the realm of education, Iraq is far ahead of many other Middle Eastern countries. Number of schools in Iraq (in 1961) is 4,240. This number is besides religious and language schools which have more than 27,600 class rooms. The number of students studying in different schools, colleges and institutes in the Republic stands now to 9,52,603 while the professors and teachers total 32,555. The present progressive regime of General Kaseem has opened 573 new



Technical Training Class (P. 34)



Cookery Class for Girls.

(P. 35)

schools of various denomination during 1960-61. It is also proposed to revive the ancient University of Baghdad—which once was the centre of learning in the East and was destroyed by Halaku Khan. In this way Baghdad is bound to recapture lost glory and take its deserved place as one of the top most cities of the world.

II

IRAQ—THE ANCIENT

To understand the trends in current politics of a country, one has got to refer to the 'material' that the country is composed of i.e., the people—to the composition of the populace, their ethnical origin and historical background. The 'past' of every race or a nation always affects its present and in many cases mirrors the future too.

Nations like individuals do 'march' towards progress to achieve certain standard. This 'march' towards progress is a result of a cumulative urge of the nation. This 'urge towards progress' like that of an individual may be conscious or might be hidden under sub-conscious regions of a nation's 'group-mind'. An inquiry into the composition and the past history of a nation furnishes us with scientific reasons as to 'why' and 'how' of the present happenings to that particular nation. Similarly an inquiry into the present, current history of a nation may give us clues to its future doings.

The roots of present happenings in Iraq

(for that matter in the whole world) lie deep in its ancients history.

The Stone Age:

If we endeavour to follow the history of Iraq back as far as the Stone Age, we must not expect to find the traces of human occupation in the southern districts of Mesopotamia. Uptil about the sixth millennium B.C. the country approximately as far north as 'Hit' on the Euphrates, was submerged beneath the sea. It was not until sometime after the discovery of metal that the accumulating silt brought down by two rivers caused the head of the Persian Gulf to recede and produced at first, extensive marshes, and later, a fertile alluvial plain.

In the high desert to the west and amongst the hills in the north are traces of both Neolithic and Palaeolithic man. The New Stone Age or Neolithic period is represented in the lowest strata of several cities already excavated in North Iraq. Cultures which occur directly above virgin soil both at Ninewah and Tepa-Gawara may be dated approximately to a period preceeding the discovery of metal and could be compared with the fourteenth level at Judeideh in North Syria (which incidentally, is considered to be Neolithic).

The Pre-Dynastic Feriods: At the eighteenth International Congress of Archeologists held at Leiden in 1931, the following Archaic stages were established for lower Mesopotamia :—

1. The Jamdat Nasar Period.
2. The Uruk Period.
3. The Al-Ubaid Period.

These divisions are both cultural and chronological and follow definite order without intervening gaps. Each contains certain characteristic material elements which were first observed in the site that has given its name to the culture in question.

The beginning of early dynastic period is dated as back as 300 B.C.

Upper Mesopotamia, as we have already said, was inhabited before the alluvial plain of the south had become suitable for human habitation. Whereas the oldest established civilization of Lower Mesopotamia was the one known as Al-Ubiad ; ancient Assyria or Upper Mesopotamia has yielded at least two additional earlier stages i.e.

1. The Pre-Halaf or Neolithic Period.
2. The Halaf-Samarra Period.

The Pre-Halaf or Neolithic Period takes us back even on conservative estimates well into the fifth millennium B. C.

The *Pre-Halaf or Neolithic* period are succeeded at sites in the earliest strata in North Iraq, and is also represented at sites further West and North such as Jericho in Palestine. The pottery of that period is either plain or burnished and any painted ornament that has been found, is crude and unskilful. Metal, as the name of the period implies is still unknown.

The Halaf-Samarra Period: The scanty vestiges of · the Neolithic period are succeeded at sites in the vicinity of Mosul, by very considerable cultural remains of people who seem to have excelled in the art of painting pottery. Their designs are ingenious and intricate and more than one colour is often used on the same pot. This was already an advanced civilization and in addition to these technically developed polly-chronic fabrics, they have bequeathed to us a variety of convex amulets and the first stamp seal. Their temples and houses were of crude built stones and they had already discovered the use of metal.

The Al-Ubaid Period: By that time (about 3200 years B. C.) the Persian Gulf had sufficiently receeded leaving behind an extremely rich alluvial land.

The drying up process of the land was delayed very much by the silt that was continually being spread over by two rivers and gradually the boggy, marshy land of South-Eastern Mesopotamia as hardened up by the strong sun, started sprouting up. Contemporary and very similar to this period is the culture of Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan. How nice it is to find that the people of Iraq and Pakistan were but one as ealy as 3000 B. C.

Just about the same period a strong virile race from northern plateau of Iran came down in waves and settled on the gradually drying up islands and marshes of Southern Mesopotamia.

First Civilized Humans Beings: It is now confirmed by leading geneologists that this tribe brought forth the ancestors of ancient Sumerians. It is not only because of the facial and physical similarities of the Sumerians with the tribes, even now, living in the northern part of Iran and Armenia that this theory is put forward but also due to the very close resemblance of their culture and religion with that of :tribes now inhabiting in remote

corners of Iran and Hindu-Kush, north of Pakistan.

Excavations at the Al-Ubaid mound unearthed the remains of a culture very different to the one preceeding it and showed signs of more advanced stage when various metals had come into use. At Al-Ubaid proper, the excavations have now thrown enough light on the fact that the early settlers in southern Mesopotamia were not very much dissimilar to their descendent that now inhabit the present marshes of Iraq and the Jazira. Their houses were made of mud and reeds. Curved bundles of reeds were tied up together and were tied up head to head to form high arches and the space in between was filled by more reeds woven into mattings. Large, thin, sun dried mud slabs were used as building material. Wooden doors pivoting on a large stone with an indentation in it were being introduced. They tilled their fields with flaked chert hoes and reaped the harvest with an implement similar to a sickle but made of hardened baked clay or flint teeth set in bitumen. Stone quern ground the flour and their bread was baked in the forerunner of the modern Arab Tanoor (oven). Game was hunt with slings and fish was caught with metal hooks

made of copper and by nets. The discovery of spindles suggest that textile craft was already known. Racially these people were termed 'Japhtities—the ancestors of Sumerians.

The Uruk Period: Excavations at Warka (ancient name was Uruk and the Biblical name for which was "Erech") revealed a still more advanced age in the ancient Sumerian culture.

Excavations at Ur, now confirm the theory that this phase in the ancient Mesopotamian culture was the one directly following that of Al-Ubaid.

A huge pit dug at Ur, not very far away from the 'streets where Abraham used to dwell,' threw much light on this point. A very careful digging alongside the walls of the pit revealed a marked difference in the rubbles and the pieces of pottery of one period from that of another and very similar fragments of pottery have been discovered at Warka (incidently similarities in pottery, fragments of household utensils and other remains, in the absence of other clues i.e., inscriptions or bricks with inscriptions, are one of the methods employed by archeologists in linking a certain period of culture of one place with that of another),

and it is by this method that we link the ancient culture of Ur, with that of Warka—though both the towns are a few hundred miles away.

This pre-dynastic period brought with it many cultural innovations and has left ample evidence to the fact that most of the innovations brought forth were of foreign origin.

One of the most obvious changes it brought forth was in pottery. Painted wares entirely disappeared and were succeeded by plain, burnished and sometimes highly polished wares. These are exactly parallel both in techninque and shape with those found at Anatolian site and therefore the distinctive character of Uruk Period in Mesopotamia is attributed to a cultural migration from the direction of Turkey and the Caucasus. It is known as the Anatolian-Transcaucasian Culture and its influence can even be traced as far as Crete.

The Jamdat-Nasr Period: With the beginning of this period, the polished grey black and red wares entirely disappeared and were replaced by the new pollychronic painted pottery typical of the phase characterized by burnishing over the painted designs. The form of cultural pro-

gress proceeded a pace on the same line. There is a notable advance in writing. Contemporary tablets found at Warka and Jamdat-Nasr show in addition to the pictorial symbols of the Uruk period, signs of phonetic values conveying Sumerian words.

During this period industry and commerce contributed to the growing wealth of Sumer. Links of trade were formed with the rest of Western Asia and with Egypt. Out of this culture emerged the civilization of Sumer which left a permanent mark not only on the rest of Mesopotamia and Western Asia but indirectly also on the classical world and the world of today.

The Early Dynastic Period 3000—2550 B.C. The five hundred years of the early Sumerian dynasties represent one of the richest and the most prosperous period in the history of Iraq. In Dr. Speser's opinion it dates from 3000 B. C. to the rise of Akkadian Dynasty—2551 B. C. The Archeological finds at Ur, specially the unearthing of the ancient 'royal tombs' has thrown abundant light on the professional perfection of the artisans of that age. In those 'royal tombs', in fact, were burried ancient priests and priestesses who were, each year consec-

rated to take part of god and goddesses in the great new year fastival of the Sumerian fertility cult and were subsequently themselves sacrified. Some of the items found are exhibited in the Museum at Baghdad.

Primitive Kings and Early Dynasties : From the beginning of the early dynastic period onwards, actual history comes to our aid in the task of reconstructing the past. The principal sources consist of the so-called 'King List' compiled by the late scribes (about 2000 B. C.) who themselves endeavoured to chronicle the story of their own country by certain legends and traditions, and finally, the date formulæ of 'year names' of kings in royal inscriptions. Among heap of exaggerated narrations and fantastic stories, the most clearly brought out facts are that during the period in question lower Mesopotamia was divided into a number of city states, of which each in turn, sometimes two at the same time, produced a dynasty of kings to hold nominal authority over the whole land. Each state's period of hegemony began and ended in war, and hardly a reign passed without inter-state quarrels usually (as even now) arising out of irrigation disputes. It was not until the incursion

of Samites which ended the period, and the establishment of the dynasty of Agada, that a king was found strong enough to hold the whole group of states into unity under a strong central government. The 'King List' mentions eight kings as ruling over five cities before the 'floods'. After the 'floods' according to the list 'the kingship still was at Kish', yet only one name is known elsewhere 'Etana'—the hero of the popular Babylonian fable of the serpent and eagle.

After the two dynasties of Kish and Erech, we come to the illustrious first dynasty of Ur, names of one of whose kings, Mes-anni-pada and his son A-anni-pada, have been established as real historical characters by a stone tablet found at Al-Ubaid and a cylinder seal of the wife of the former, unearthed at Ur.

The period following the first dynasty of Ur, was one of turmoil and civil war between the two states for political supremacy.

The dynasty of Ishan according to the 'King List' assumed hegemony after Ur; then came the dynasty called 'Awan', the second dynasty of Erech the, second dynasty of Ur, the dynasty of Adah, the

dynasty of Mari, the third dynasty of Kish and the dynasty of Akhshak.

The later kings of the dynasty of Akshak and all those of the fourth dynasty from Kish and all those that followed, have Semitic names. Men of Semitic speech during this period, are beginning to wrest the authority from the true Sumerians. At first the land is divided and the northern district acquires individuality of its own under the name of Akkad. But soon we have a king of Akkad conquering Sumer and it is once more united under a Semitic ruler in the person of Sargon the Great.

T*he Sargoned Akkadian* P*eriod* : The whole period of Sumerian history preceeding the dynasty of Sargon is often called 'pre Sargonic Age'. Culturally it was marred by perpetual inter-state quarrels which did not cease until Sargon (Sharru-kin, the True King) succeeded in uniting the whole country into a single kingdom.

This Semitic hero, as the legend states was once a cup bearer to Ur-Ilbaba, King of Kish. He revolted against his master and established kingdom at Akkad. The land was too small to hold two rivals—Lugalzaggisi, the Lord of Sumer, and Sargon—the champion of the Semitics.

Sargon first occupied himself with consolidating a part of country under his control and then struck and smashed the power of his rival. After this he had little difficulty in establishing the Akkadian Empire. Having secured the assistance of Nari as northwestern outpost, he sacked Ashur and conquered the great Subarta plain around Erbil and Kirkuk. He then turned his attention to Southern Sumer. First Lagish and then Ur fell, so that eventually his soldiers were able 'to wash their weapons in the Persian Gulf'. Thus we find the Empire of Sargon the Great extended from Persian Gulf to as Cyprus. The three successors to Sargon also pushed the Empire out to all the directions.

The Akkadian period was one of the peaks of Mesopotamia's prosperity, yet the pure Sumerian culture was already corrupted and changed by Semitic and other foreign influences. The Akkadian supremacy ended in confusion. The war-like Gutian tribesmen (fore-fathers of the Kurdish people) from the mountains in the east overran the land, breaking the old union of states and establishing themselves in control of large areas. The first of these Ur-Ban, built a temple and dedicated statue of himself

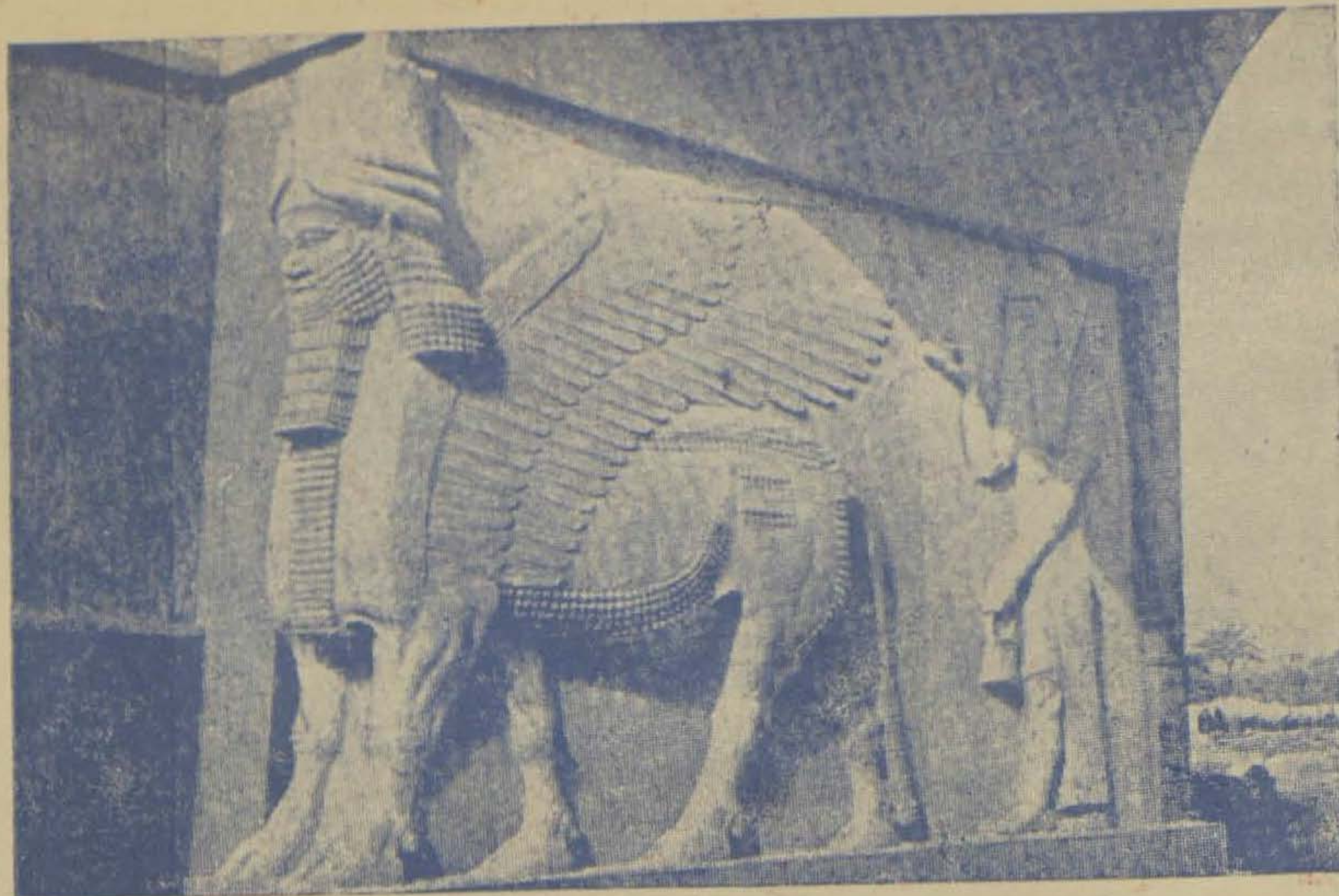
which is now in the Louvre. But the greatest of all was Judea who governed Lagash for a long period (about 2,300 B. C.) and is one of the best known characters of Sumerian history. He brought prosperity. This dynasty also receded to oblivion and for the third time in recorded history the city of Ur, assumed the hegemony of the plain of Shin'ar.

Third Dynasty of Ur: Ur-Nammu the founder of the dynasty was a local Governor of Ur, installed by Auto-Higal. He revolted against his suzerain and conquered the seat of his power. He then conquered the neighbouring districts and the kingdom of Akkad and thus secured the cherished title of the king of Sumer and Akkad. His reign lasting 18 years was occupied in building enterprises, canal digg-ing and promotion of trade. At Ur, he built the city wall, the great Ziggurat, the town and the temples of the God Nunnar. His son Dungi (or Shulgi) carried on the work started by his father. After Shulgi, Ur, slipped into political decline. Three of their kings proved useless. The fourth, Gimil sin, started building a long wall to the west of Ur to prevent Ur from the attacks of Semitic

tribes down the Euphrates. The fifth and the last king of Ur, (Ib Sin) ignored this danger and the adjoining Semetic tribes once more attacked the kingdon. Ur fell and was laid waste while Ib Sin was taken into captivity. The passing of the glories of Sumer was lamented by the poets of antiquity.

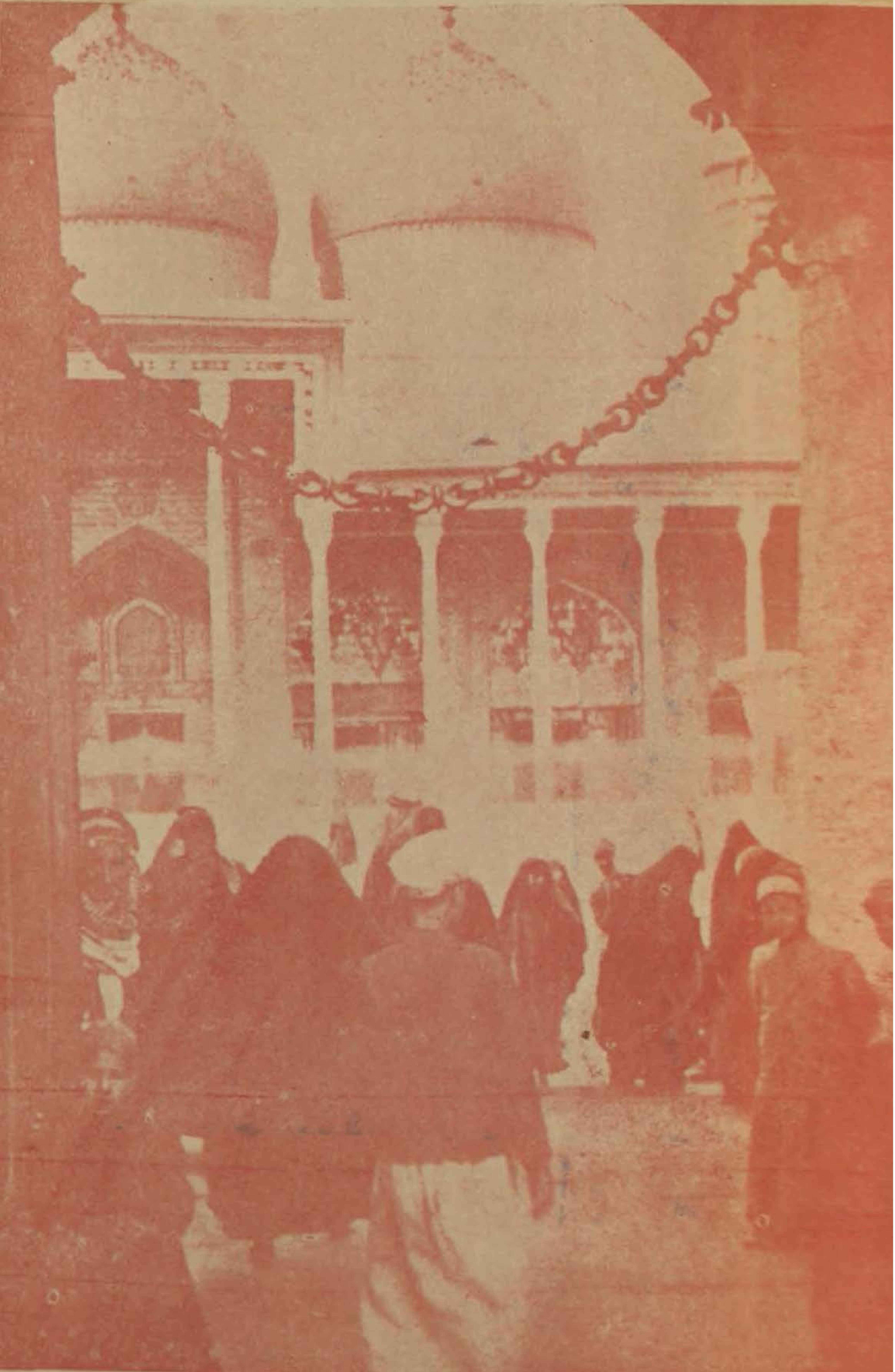
1st Dynasty of Babylon — King Hammurabi : The downfall of the third dynasty of Ur, was followed by two city states —the first Isbi-Irrd-The Amprites, Irra the second, Elamite. Their fate, too, was doomed by their internal fight with each other and during that period a western Semitic dynasty got itself established at Babylon. Hamurabbi—the sixth and the most important king of that dynasty ruled as an independent master of the land for 13 years and his was a 'golden age' in the history of the country. His famous code of laws and a series of his official despatches and letters show that the brilliance and prosperity of Babylon at his time were due to his wisdom, foresight and statesmanship.

His successors proved unworthy of his name and this dynasty was followed by a foreign invasion of Kassites who penetrated into the country from the mountains east of



Assyrian Bull unearthed at Nineveh.

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Holly Shrine

P

Tigris. They founded the third dynasty of Babylon which lasted another 60 years and came to an end about 1170—1040 BC. Nothing is known of the first two rulers but the third ruler Nebuchad-nazzar I, is a prominent figure in history. He tried to expand his kingdom but received a severe check from the hands of Assyrain King. For sometime after his death Babylonia remained independent and weak, and from the 11th century B. C. onward the country was invaded frequently by tribes who came down the Eupherites and settled in the wet lands of Mesopotamia.

As a result of these migrations we have two settlements ; one the Arameans who dwelt chiefly on the east bank of the Tigris and in northern Babylonia, the second was the Chaldeans. At the same time Assyria grew in strength and in 850 B. C. a king of the eighth dynasty of Babylon acknowledged Shalmanassar III the king of Assyria as his overlord. From this time to the fall of Ninevah, Babylon remained a province of the Assyrian Empire.

New Babylonian Empire : After the final capture and sack of Ninevah (606 B. C.) by the Medis, Nabopolassar, formerly a Governor

of Babylon under the Assyrian king Ashurpanipal, declared the indenpence of that state.

Having secured supremacy over the country, he despatched his son and successor Nebuchadnezzar il, with an army up the Eupherates to meet the Egyptian Pharoeh (Neeho) who had invaded Syria and Palestine and was tempted by the weakness of Assyria. After a fierce battle at Corbhemish the Pharoeh was driven back and all the Palestinians except Juda acknowledged Nabuchandnezzar ll's authority. The resistance of Juda led to the capture of Jerusalem in 595 B. C. In this way the country was kept pure of the Negroid influence as early as 600 B.C.

Nabuchadnezzar was, above all, a celebrated builder and a great conqueror. Three generations after him toppled down in quick succession till Nabonides—a great scholar but having no military aptitude, took the crown. The death blow to the dynasty was struck in the period of Nabonides by Cyrus the Achaemedean Persian who invaded Babylon in 539 B. C. The defence of the country was entrusted by Nabonides to his son Balshazrar who met the advancing Persians at Opis and was defeated, and here atBabylon owing to the treachery of priest-

hood the gates of Babylon were flung open without serious fighting. Thus Neo-Babylonian Empire came to an end and Persian kings ruled over the country untill 331 B.C. when they were in their turn overwhelmed by Alexander the Great.

Selucid Parthian Eras : On the division of the great Empire after the death of Alexander, Mesopotamia became a province of the Kingdom of Selucus I Nicator (312—280 B. C.) who ruled in Antioch. He rebuilt the city of Selucia on the right bank of the Tigris. Then the Parthian (Persis) revolted against the Selucid rule, and are soon found ruling Babylon (249 BC-726 AD). Ctesiphon, a city to the left bank of the Tigris about 3 miles to the north of Echuna was their capital.

The rule of Parthians over the country was challenged frequently by the Romans without any decisive victory on either side until Parthian dynasty came to an end about 226 A. D. and Babylon fell into the hands of Sassanid kings (226 A. D.—635 A. D.). The Sassanid kings ruled for about 4 centuries till they finally succumbed to pressure from Arabs their first and greatest defeat at the hands of the Muslim armies taking place at Al-Qadisiya on the Euphrates.

III

ADVENT OF THE MUSLIM ARABS

"You will not violate the trust imposed in you nor will you turn round from your words and promises. You will keep your heart clean of vengeance and spite. You will not cut the limbs, nose and ear of the conquered. You will not kill the old, the children and the women nor will you violate their sanctity. You will not uproot or burn trees or destroy trees laden with fruit. You will not cut or kill the camel and cattle of the population. If you find anybody taking refuge in a religious sanctuary or a place sacred to any religion, you will not violate their sanctity.........thats about all I have to say.........trust in God and on you march," with these words Khalid-Ibn-Elwaleed the sword of Allah led his Armies towards Iraq in the middle of 7th Century A. D.

As soon as he arrived at the Euphrates after some hard fighting on the way, Khalid-Ibn-Elwaleed was told that it would be

worth his while to turn his attention to the rich village of Suq-Baghdad or "Baghdad Market."

From then onwards till 1258, when Hulaku plundered the city of Baghdad, the history of Iraq, in fact, had been the history of Baghdad and of the Caliphs.

During the time of the first four principal Caliphs Medina remained the Capital. But the last of those Caliphs was Hadhrat Ali (may peace and blessing be on his soul) —the son-in-law of Prophet Mohammed. After the shah-adat (murder) of Hadhrat Ali in 961 A. D. he was succeeded by Mu'awiya, the Arab military Governor of Syria. He had long been awaiting his opportunity, and inspite of considerable opposition, he seized the Caliphate. The force which enabled him to realize his ambition came from his own Arab troops on whom the continuance of his power depended. The Ummayed dynesty which Mu'awiya founded, lasted for a century.

On the other side of Iraqi border were the Persians having a traditional faith in the hereditary principles, and had an immense loyalty to Hadhrat Ali, the son-in-law of Prophet Mohammed.

Hadhrat Ali they regarded as the one of rightful heir to the Caliphate. They looked upon the Ummayeds who had succeeded to office only by election, as usurpers and sought some other objects for their religious and political affections.

In the family of Prophet's uncle Abbas, they found what they wanted. These Abbasides were eager for power and in 747 A. D. during the reign of the weakling Caliph Marwan II, a certain Abu Muslim, who was a loyal slave of theirs, raised the black standard of his masters house in revolt in Persian Province of Khurasan. The Persian flocked to it in thousands and three years later the last of the Ummayeds was defeated in battle. He was caught and slain after many of his followers had been butchered and Abu'l Abbas "The blood-pourer" reigned as the first Caliph of the Abbaside line.

If the Ummayeds derived their power from the Arabs of Syria, the Abbasides owed theirs no less to the loyalty of their Persian supporters. The first Caliph of the new line recognised the fact and determined to move the seat of authority from Damascus to a point near Iran. His first step was to settle

in the town of Anbar near Kufah and on the Euphrates. There he built an imposing palace which he called the "Hashimiya" after his ancestor Hashem. He died in 754 A. D. and his brother and successor Mansur (Abu-Ja'far) was made to escape from the neighbourhood of Kufah, whose inhabitants he mistrusted, and to move nearer still to Persia. The historian Tabrasi gives a detailed account of the reconnaissance made by Mansur for finding a site suitable to become a capital of the Khilafat. The place he finally selected was the site of ancient Baghdad. Prince Mehdi succeeded Mansur —the founder of Baghdad. By this time Baghdad had become a trade centre and the prince was not slow to take advantage of the wealth—that came pouring in. Disregarding all precedents, he levied a tax on the bazzars of Medina and Damascus, the former capital of the Caliphate; though they did not equal Baghdad, were yet flourishing centres of trades. Mehdi wanted to make Baghdad too, one of the principal cities in the Muslim world. The step Mehdi took was quite justifiable and Mehdi followed it by giving the inhabitants of his city a freedom rarely to be found either. in east or west till quite modern times.

Harun-al-Rashid: Towards the end of Mehdi's life the matter of succession began to be prominent. Mehdi's favourite slave girl Khayzuran had born him two sons—Moosa-al-Hadi and Harun-al-Rashid—the prince of Thousand and one Nights. Moosa as the elder of the two, was entitled to the throne, but in the year 772 the younger prince greatly distinguished himself during a struggle with the Byzantium Empire. On an expedition in Asia Minor. with Khalid-the-Barmecide as his counsellor, he had marched along the coast as far as the Bosphorus and compelled Irene, queen of Byzantium to submit and pay him a large sum of money as a tribute. With this and a vast quantity of booty which his troops had acquired in enemy territory, the young warrior returned in triumph to the capital, where his delighted father bestowed on him the honorific title "al-Rashid", and determined that he, and not Moosa, was to be the next occupant of the throne.

However, on the death of his father, Harun loyally permitted his brother Moosa to ascend the throne as Caliph. The troops in Baghdad disapproved and revolted in favour

of Harun, rioting in front of the house of the new Caliph's minister, and releasing the prisoners he had kept in confinement. Only by a promise that they would receive their pay long deferred, were the mutineers persuaded to disperse. After the accession Moosa was not restrained by any feelings of gratitude to his brother from trying to retain the succession in his own immediate family. As soon as he could do so, he appointed his son Ja' far to be his heir, in hope that Persian adherence to the hereditary principle would assist his scheme. As a further measure he summoned Yahya the Barmecide, Harun's secretary, and son of that Barmecide who had been Harun's adviser at Byzantium and tried by the offer of a bribe to win his support. Yahya however had that sense of loyalty which made his family a power in the land and which all the Abbaside monarches lacked. He refused Moosa's approaches and the Caliph, in a fierce rage, threw him into prison and would have had Harun himself assassinated if that cautious prince had not anticipated trouble and fled from the city. In a mad search for some victim to satisfy his wrath, the Caliph turned on to his own mother, Khayzuran, whom he accused of favouring Harun. The story goes that with a blood

thirstiness not unknown in his family, he plotted, though without success, to have her poisoned, and that she revenged herself by bribing some of his slave girls to smother him with pillows in his sleep. Whatever the truth of that may be, his reign was a short one and ended suddenly. In the year A. D. 786 Harun-al-Rashid at the age of twenty-two, became the next Caliph.

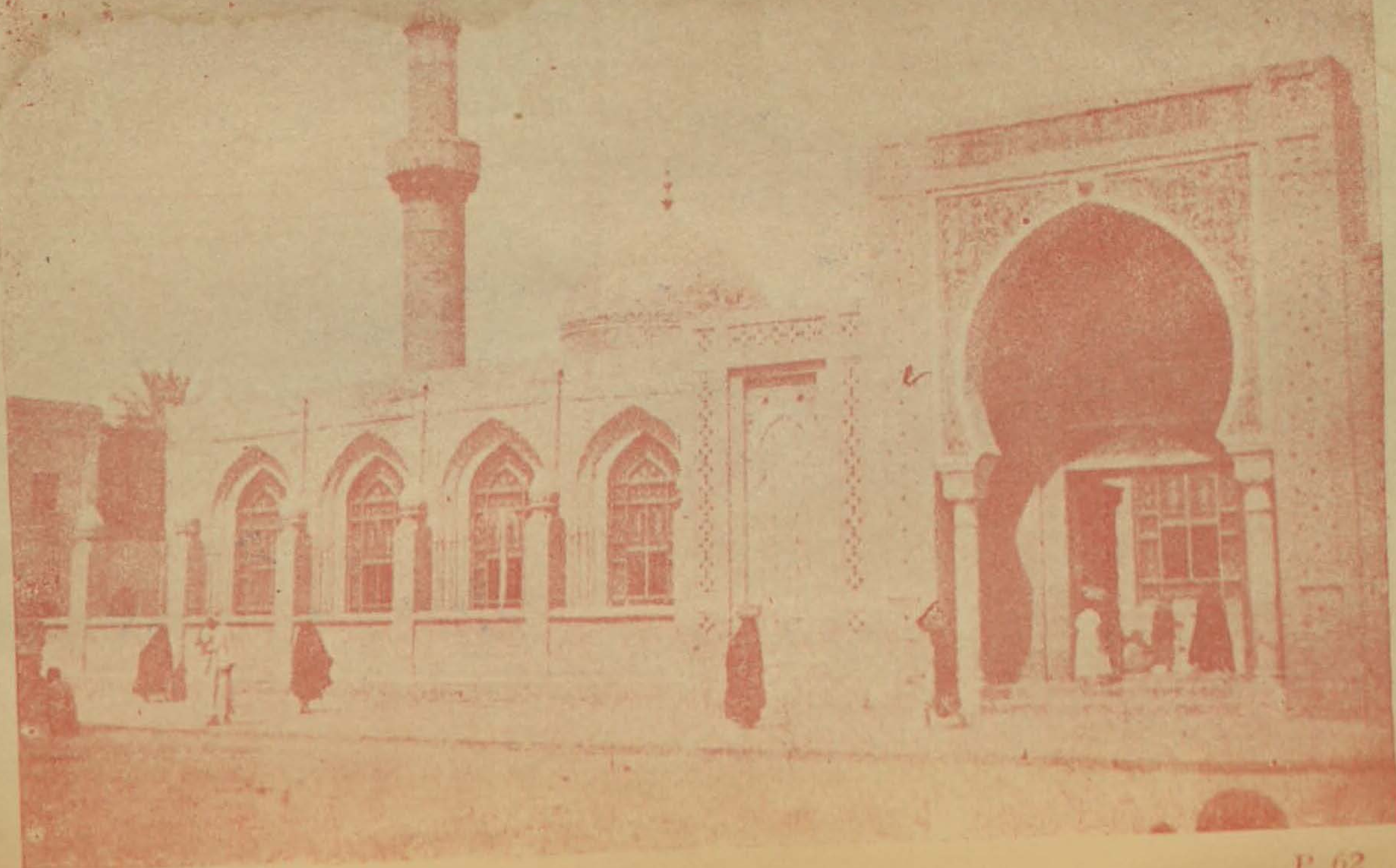
It was during his reign that Baghdad became in very special degree "a city of palaces and offices," hotels and pavilions, mosques and colleges, kiosks and squares, bazzars and markets, pleasure grounds and orchards adorned with all the graceful charms of Saracenic architecture. By that time also with the increase of population and trade, the city had become a very important shipping centre. Along its miles of wharves lay vessels of every description and tonnage from Chinese Junks that had been towed with great labour up the Tigris from Basra, to native helleks—(primitive rafts, built up on inflated sheep skins—of the kind that could not be propelled against the current, but had to be floated down from Mosul). In addition there were ships of war, bitumen covered guffas or corascles, and gaily colou-

red pleasure craft. Trade poured into the city from the various provinces of the empire and the bazzars were more enriched than ever with merchandise from the four quarters of the world, so that to men living in the leaner days that came afterwards, Harun's reign was looked back upon as the Golden Age. Baghdad became a centre of science, of art and of all that is the basis of Arab culture. Its University taught geography, mathematics, medicihe, law, philosophy and even the science and art of war. This gave one ness to the Arab people and the the glory which is the heart of modern Arabism. The rich and powerfull followed the set by the Caliph, and extravagant luxury and display with immense expenditure on amusement were the fashion amongst those who had relationship with the court. It was an amazing establishment that Harun maintained in his palace and its numerous annexes, which occupied altogether about one-third of the "Round City."

There were many who flocked round him in the hope of reward. Panegyrists, wits, physician, gardeners, trainers of fighting cocks and dogs, in fact all who could flatter, amuse or interest him were certain of his favour and of largess. But his singers gave him

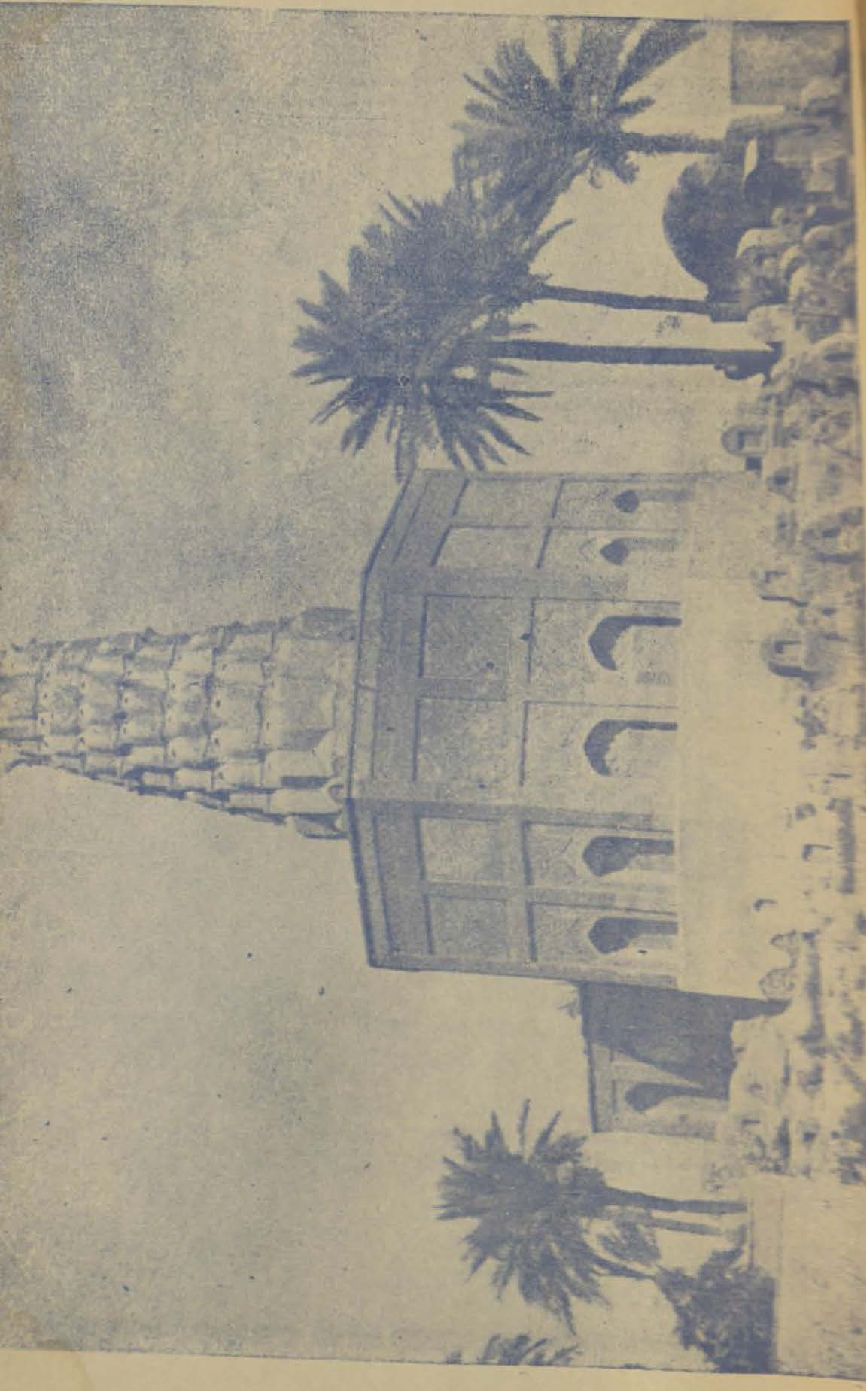
most pleasure. Of these, three in particular competed for his recognition, Siyat, Ibrahim-al-Mosulli and Ibn Jami, of whom the two later had been Siyat's pupils. Ibrahim was a Persian by birth and seems to had been intended originally for the profession of 'Kadhi'. At the age of twenty-three, however, he fled from the seminary in which he was pursuing his studies and went to Mausil (Mosul) from which place he received his name of Mosulli. There, for lack of better employment, or pherhaps to indulge in natural propen sity he became a highwayman, and during his wanderings with various gangs, learned the songs of his comrades. in course of time he had surpassed all his acquaintances in the number and variety of the tunes at his command, and finally hearing about the demand for singers at Baghdad he made his way there and succeeded in attracting the attention of Harun's father, Mehdi, who was than a Caliph.

The Caliph's Court : It was on occasions of ceremony that the wealth and magnificence of the court found their fullest display. Harun's own audience chamber seems at all times to have been adorned with the richest fabrics of the East but when he was receiving



Imam-a-Azam.

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the representatives of foreign potentates, the Caliph surpassed himself so that the historians vie with each other in their descrip tion of the brilliant scenes.

Among the envoys thus received legend puts an ambassador from Charlemagne and another from the king of China. According to the chronicler Eginhard, the envoys of the great king of the West returned home with rich presents that included a number of elephants and also a cunningly contrived water clock of bronze that marked the time by means of numerous little knightly figures which opened and closed various little doors. Another occasion for display was at the Persian New Year—festival of Nawruz, when the Caliph ceremonially received all his high officers of state at a banquet that lasted six days. Harun was seconded in his love of parade by his chief and favourite wife, Zubaida, who would have at her table no vessels that were not made of precious metals and who set the fashion of ornamenting her shoes with jewels.

Administration: For purposes of administration the city was divided into a number of separate quarters, in each of which was a head responsible

for the maintenance of order. For the whole city there was a police force that was a part of the system of security. The function of the officers who were known as Muhtasibs, was to see that the laws were obeyed and that the public were protected. The Muhtasib was allowed wide discretion in the performance of his duties. He could concern himself as much with seeing that a merchant had weights and measures of an agreed standard, as that of a legal adviser or a public speaker ; and was properly equipped for his profession. Mawardi, the Arab authority on public law and administration writes that if a professional man was notoriously incompetent, the muhtasib may expose him. Muhtasib may examine any man who is not known to him. He was empowered to make tardy debtors pav their debts, to see to it that beasts of burden were not overloaded, that widows did not remarry before the proper time and that public decency was observed. He had to stop the open selling of wine, to apprehend drunkards and prevent the playing of musical instruments except in certain specified localities. Also he could prevent and punish other illegal acts, such as usury, sales of forbidden commodities, extortion and so on. Moreover, he had to main-

tain the established laws of privacy and to see that no one overlooked his neighbour and spied upon his womenfolk, just as in Baghdad to day, the man who owns a house higher than that of his neighbour, is required to surround his roof with some material generally sheets of tin that will prevent any overlooking. Mawardi also mentions among duties of the muhtasib the responsibility for punishing men who dyed their beards black for the sole purpose of making a better impression on the fair sex. Only the military mujahids, or fighters in a holy war, had that privilege, though others might stain their beards red with henna.

The muhtasib differed in his powers from the kazi, who was a superior official of the law, principally in this respect, that he could try no case in which the charge was disputed. Where witness had to be sworn, or where a complaint had to be investigated, the trial was before the kazi. The muhtasib could investigate on the spot any irregularity which he came across in the course of his rounds and could deliver summary justice, though he could not cross the threshold of a private house to follow his investigations. The sanctity of the harem was secure even from him.

minorities. The principal traders in the bazaar were Christians and Jews who enjoyed high reputation. In the realm of medicine Harun had a Nestorian Christrian as his personal physician—the famous Bakhtishu, who had learnt his art at the great hospital of Jundisabour in the Persian Province of Khuzistan, and whose income, incidentally, was said to be not less than 280,000 derhams, or about 10,000 pounds sterling per annum.

Another product of the school of Jundisabour who came to practice at Baghdad was the Christian Masawayh Abu Yohanna. His early efforts at finding patients were not very successful, and on the advice of the bishop he rented an alcove in the Dar-ul-Rum (the Greek House) which was a large caravanserai frequented by Christian merchants near which the bishop himself had his house. Near by, also was the palace of the vizier. Abu-Yohanna set out his stock of medicaments in his alcove and waited for patients to arrive. For a period customers lagged, then he had the good fortune to be successful in the treatment of a slave belonging to the vizier's household. That brought him more patients, and at last he was introduced by Bakhtishu to Harun himself whom he cured of some malady

of the eyes, thereby establishing his own fortunes.

It has already been seen that in the bazaars the members of each craft and trade had their shops together, distinct from those of other craftsmen and tradesmen. Quite early there is a mention of tailors, shoemakers, tanners, butchers, dyers, glaziers—crafts-men whose tasks wer once carried out by slaves—and others who were more usually to be found in a great city than in villages, for example, water-carriers, brokers, masons, carpenters, gilders, gold-smiths and others. These craftsmen formed themselves into guilds and there is mention even of a thieve's guild with properly accredited officers.

In addition to the organised and more reputable professions we may be sure that nimble-fingered and glib tongued fraternities were not absent and that the credulous and the simple interested or amused at the expense of their purses. The Fihrist or Index—an encyclopedic bibliography composed in A.D. 988 by Ibn-un-Nadeem the bookseller of Baghdd—contains a catalogue of bookseller's stock-in-trade, amongst the items of which are numerous works dealing with the arts of hypnotism, sword swallowing, glass chewing and the like.

The Khurasan Rebellion : Towards the close of the reign of Harun the huge empire of the Caliphate began to show signs of breaking up under its own mass, and rising in distant provinces disturbed the the peace of the capital. In the early part of A. D. 809 the Caliph determined to go in person to Khurasan in order to quell a serious rebellion that had broken out there. He left incharge of Baghdad his son, whose mother Zubaida—Harun's favourite wife—was a person of pronouncedly weak and pleasure-loving nature. Another son, Ma'mun accompanied the Caliph to Khurasan, of which he was made governor. The campaign had not lasted many month-when Harun falling sick; was compelled to surrender the command to his son whom he sent forward with a large force while he himself took to his bed at Tus.

It soon became obvious to the physicians and to the Caliph himself that his condition was serious. He repeated an old wish—which had been embodied in a formal agreement at Mecca (in A. D. 701)—that Ma'mun who was his favourite son, though the son from a Persian slave girl, should succeed Amin on the throne ; and, having had a grave prepared

to his satisfaction and chosen his burial robes, he died before his son could be called back.

Caliph Amin: The new Caliph was a strange contrast to his predecessor. Caliph Amin was a man who cared for little beyond his own pleasures. His main object in life lay in bringing together and housing musicians, dancers, mountbanks, male and female who could entertain him and upon them he spent colossal fortune.

Persuaded by his Vizier Al-Fadhl-ibn-Al Rabii, who had reasons to hate Ma'mun then acting as a governor of Khurasan, the Caliph appointed his own son to the succession. Mamun got news and later on when Amin wrote asking Mamun to cede part of Khurasan for the purpose of increasing the royal revenues, Mamun refused. As a further step, when hostilities became more imminent, he cut off all communication between Khurasan and Baghdad.

The Siege of Baghdad by Tahir: 812 A. D.: Towards the end of year A. D. 810, Amin despatched anarmy of 40,000 against his brother Mamun in Khurasan. It was routed by a body of 40,000 men under the redoubtable Tahir, (who was later to be the founder

of an independent dynasty in Persia)—and Mamun—the Caliph was saluted as a Caliph by his own troops.

A second army which Amin sent out, also suffered the same fate as did the first, and Tahir began his march towards Baghdad.

In August 812 A.D. Tahir joined by Harthama and Zahir another General of Mamun, proceeded to lay siege to the city. The heat of the summer and the firm blockade put in by the joint forces of Tahir and Harthama, soon lowered morale the besieged garrison. The Caliph was soon discovered betrayed by the odour of the musk with which he was in habit of scenting himself. A gang of Persians dragged him from his hiding place, stabbed him to death and sent his severed head to Tahir, who next morning took possession of Baghdad in the name of his master Mamun.

The Reign of Mamun : Mamun arrived in the Capital in 819 A. D.: and found the town in need of considerable restoration. Such portion of the city that were not too hopelessly damaged were put into immediate repair. The Khuld Palace on the right bank of the Tigris was given by Caliph to his father-in-law Hassan-ibn-Salih after whom it came to be known as Hassani Palace.

Mamun's friends and courtiers were housed to the east side of the city. Another quarter called after him, the " Mamuniya", came to swell the frowning importance of left bank. The poet The'alibi had most aptly remarked that " of the Caliphs of Abbaside, the 'opener' was Mansur (who founded Baghdad), the middle was Mamun and the close was Al-Mutadhid. And it is perfectly true that under Mamun, Baghdad was on the zenith of its glory and after him there was rapid decline. Mamun gathered together at Baghdad the best known poets, scholars and historians of the day and sent men to the old Byzentine provinces in search of the works of classical philosophers and physicians. Many of those were already rendered into Syriac, from which tongue, Mamun had them translated into Arabic, thus introducing to the scientific world the works of Hippocrates, Euclid and Galon that had been all but forgotten in Europe.

Men of every faith were numbered amongst Mamun's own favourites, consequently servants like Al-kindi-the Christian Astrologer and philosopher got assured of a large clientele during the reign of Caliph Mamun.

As a centre for scholoars and studenbs,

the Caliph founded at Baghdad a magnificient institute equipped not only with a fine library but with an observatory that attracted the learned from all over the Muslim world. Through their labours the Arabs were enabled to become "teachers of Science" in the middle ages and to a great extent, the fore-runners of Ranaissance in Europe. Thanks to the present progressive Iraqi leaders particularly General Karim Kassem, this very institution is now to be revived to bring back the lost glory of Baghdad and of the Arab World.

Amongst the famous scientists living in Baghdad during the period of Mamun, was the Christian doctor Hunayan-ibn -Ishaq.

Music was amongst one of the arts encouraged by Mamun, and Ibn-Abdi-Rabbihi says that Mamun used to spend hours every day cleaning his teeth while poetry was recited to him. Intellectually Baghdad during Mamun's reign was on its most brilliance. Neverthless it was during Mamun's reign that the elements of decay also started creeping in the forefront.

Tahir's rebellian : Tahir the 'Ambidexter' once Mamun's trusted Lieutenant, declared himself independent in Khurasan. There

were risings too in other parts of Persia to press the demand for reduced taxation. In addition the campaigns against Byzantium and the long drawn efforts—with inevitably heavy expenditure and insecurity of trade drained the Imperial treasury. Campaign was undertaken to subdue Heresiarch Babek Al-kh-arami, who for more than twenty years kept the West and north-west of Persia in terror and defeated all the efforts of Mamun's armies to subduc him. He was however, finally captured in the reign of the Caliph Mu'tasim in A.D. 638 five years after Mamun's death.

Caliph Mu'tasim: Mamun breathed his last in the summer of 833 A.D. and the new Caliph Ma'tasim ascended the Khilafat chair. Poor Mu'tasim inherited wars and troubles from Mamun. In the North-Western Persia, Babek Al-Kharami, the heretic who was claiming to be a God, brought terror not only into the lands he infested but into Baghdad itself. Around neighbourhood of Basrah the Zutt, con-ederacy of wild tribes which dwelt in the marshes, had assumed authority and threaten-ed to march on Baghdad. A campaign of nine months was conducted before they were sub-

dued, and five hundred Zutt's head were sent to Baghdad for display at gates of Baghdad and to restore confidence in the Capital.

Second Siege of Baghdad 865 A. D.: This time, the weak and oscilating policy of the Caliph subjected Baghdad to another catastrophe. The matter of succession once again became a subject of fierce quarrel between the Turkish generals who wrangled over the control of the new Caliph. Towards the end of March 865 A. D, the Turkish advance guards came within sights of Shamasiya gate and halted there but were driven off by a party that sallied out. The defences of the city were repaired. the stock within the city walls were quickly replenished and a long siege set in.

The second siege of Baghdad had lasted for over a year. Hundreds of its citizens had been killed in battle or by famine, and the eastern part of the city, particularly in the modern quarters of Shamasiya, Rusafa, and Mukharrim had suffered damage so great that they were never afterwards put right. The new Caliph did not remain in the city but moved to Samarra amongst his old companions who repaid the poor Caliph's confidence by murdering him in the most brutal fashion in A. D. 869.

The historians who deal with the events of the twenty years that follow, do not even mention Baghdad while the references that do occur have no record of peace and prosperity. Plague, flood and riots within, combined with threatened danger from rebel abroad, make up the sum total. The external danger was the most serious. Relying on the disturbed conditions of affairs at the Capital of the Empire, in September, A.D. 869, there arose a certain pretender woose name was 'Ali son of Mohammad.' He gave himself out to be a decendent of the great Caliph Ali, the cousin of the Prophet and the Imam to whom the Shias owed a veneration excecded only, if at all, by that paid to the Prophet himself. In his search for supporters the pretender found the materials he required amongst the Zanj; or negro, slaves labouring in the saltpeter works that were situated in the great Tigris-Euphrates marshes to the north of the Persian Gulf. To them "he represented......how badly they were being treated and promised them, if they joined him freedom, wealth and power. Consequently Muwaffak, the brother of the reigning Caliph Mu'tamid in A. D. 872 himself led an army into the marshes, which took an even greater

toll of casulties than that taken by the black enemy himself. Three years later, when the war had been dragging on for over five years without any dicisive result, the negro leader was unexpectediy helped by a rising against the capital from a different quarter. This was the rebellion in Persia under Yaqub son of Layth the copper-smith, who had already taken possession of the eastern provinces of Khurasan and was advancing through the provinces, of Faris and Khuzistan upon Baghdad. There was nothing to stop his advance, and he succeeded in capturing Wasit on the lower Tigris with little loss.

By this time the Caliph's troops had been diverted from the Zinj rebels to face this new and apparently greater danger. Mutamid himself, with all the men he could muster, marched down from Samarra in 'the mantle of the Prophet, and with the Prophet's staff in his hand", in a "holy war against godless rebel'. About fifty miles below Baghdad the armies faced one a other. There Muwaffak took command, producing excellent results. Yaqub was defeated, his troops were dispersed and his camp, with rich, booty, fell into the hands of the Government forces on (A.D. 876).

With ten years elapsed since the begin-

ing of the war, Muwaffak had by bitter experience learned something of the strategy to be employed against this particular foe. Towards the end of A.D. 897 he despatched his son Abu-'l-Abbas (afterwards the Caliph Mu'tamid) with a fleet of vessels—all of which small and great, had to be propelled by manual labour—to deal with this amphibious enemy. His operations were, in part, successful and the Zinj were compelled to retreat down the Tigris. About a year later Muwaffak himself appeared with an army to push forward the advance, but he now began to combine diplomacy with his military methods, by which he contrived to get numbers of the Zinj leaders to desert to him. The leaders were followed by a great many of the common troops, who too were attracted by promises of amnesty and reward. The final operations were protracted over a space of three years, but on Saturday, November 23rd, A.D. 883, Abu'l Abbas was able to appear in procession in Baghdad with the head of the Zinj king displayed on a pole. In honour of the victory "the streets were decorated and the shops shut and the crowd danced maddly in the street."

Less than a year after the declaration of peace an unexpected calamity overwhelmed

the west side of the city. The Isa canal, which connected with the Euphrates, overflowed in its banks and submerged several of the city quarters. About 7,000 houses collapsed, and seeing that most of the buildings in Baghdad were of mud or mud bricks, there is every probability that their destruction was complete.

To add to the general confusion in the city, there were periodical outbreaks of the Turkish and Berber mercenaries, of whom rival sections either fought each other in the streets for supremacy, with frequent bloodshed, or else united in demonstration of violence to enforce payment of the arrears of their dues. At Samarra matters were even worse, though the Caliph Mu'tamid was able to escape the terrors of the foreign guard through the efforts of Muwaffak, who held the Turkish and Berber troops in check until the sovereign found an opportunity in A.D. 892 of escaping to Baghdad and so restoring it to its old position of supremacy.

The Buwayhid Interlude : The Buwayhids came into picture when a Sassanian named Ahmed-ibn-Buwayh was made Amir-ul-Umara (Chief of the Governor) by Caliph Muqtadir and later the Buwayhid assumed such an importance that they virtual-

ly ruled over Baghdad while the Caliph remained only nominal figure head.

In A.D. 962 the fanatical Shiaism, characteristic of the Buwayhid princes, displayed itself in a manner calculated to rouse most furious dissension. For some reasons, Muizzidawla induced his followers to cover the doors and walls of every mosque in the city with insult and curses upon Muawiya, Hazrat Abu Bakr, Uthman and Umar, all of whom, according to the Shia, had been usurpers of the Caliphate. The noxious legends were erased during the night, but Muizziddawla insisted on having them restored. On the advice of his vizir Al-wazeer-ul-Muhullbi, however, only Mu'awiya was specifically mentioned, the rest were roped in collectively as "the doors of the Prophet of Allah." The next year, on the 10th day of the month of Muharram the anniversary of the field of Kerbela of Imam Hussain (the Prophet's grandson) the Amir issued an edict that in mourning for the tragic event, the shops in the bazzars were to be closed and all buying and selling was to be suspended. Propritors of cookshops were forbidden to cook, the butchers to slaughter and water carriers to draw water. The orthodox inhabitants apparently permitted it to

be carried out without any visible protest that year. Two years later, however, when the same behests were made, there was fighting between Shia and Sunni. Peaceful celebration of the anniversary is reported regularly thereafter during the domination of Muizziddawla and of his degenerate son Izzuddawla, who succeeded him in A.D. 966 and who had few concerns beyond wine, women and music.

During the term of this degenerate prince 'fighting the invaders' was given no consideration at all with the result that the Byzantine armies slowly penetrated into the Muslim Empire. Unfortunately, the Hamdanid prince Abu Taghlib of Mosul, who then happened to be a bulwark of the state, instead of fighting the invaders with sword, resorted to an easier but a more expensive way of buying them with gold. This act was an admission of the hollowness of the defenders and the situation was exploited in full by John Dimisces in A. D. 972. The inner dissentions of the Musulmans which in fact were based on economic factors and language and the geographical differences, took the usual appearance of "Sunni-Shia" troubles.

Frustration caused by the slow creeping in of John Dimisces, for a time resulted in

ugly demonstrations and a demand for a more stronger action against the "infidles." That year the "Ashura" (Celebrations of the 10th of Moharram) was also cancelled as its celebration might have threatened the disturbance of public peace.

The populace, appearently lost confidence in the Government and at times the mob expressed its anger through a nastier medium of loot, arson and fighting. Law and order at that time was at its lowest ebb.

It was after these outbursts that Izzul-Dawla demanded from the Caliph Al-M'uti the plans and arrangements then existing towards the defence of the city against the invaders. He was told by the Caliph in reply that "his revenues and his provinces had been torn from his hands and that he was ready to abdicate his dignity which he could no longer support."

The ultimate retreat of the Greeks calmed the fears of Baghdad, but the damage caused by the internal disturbances took considerable time to repair.

Though the general effect conveyed by the reign of Muizzud-Dawla is one of turmoil and unrest, it was not devoid of constructive efforts. It has been seen that scholarship received some encouragement. Architecture

too was 'practised.' The amir for his own occupation built a palace in the neighbourhood of the Christian community house and a church—the Dar-ur-Rum, on the east bank of the Tigris.

No further change of importance took place in the general appearance of Baghdad until the new Buwahid prince Adhudiddawla succeeded to the office of Amir-ul-Umara in Iraq. Under this distinguished monarch the Buwayhid power reached its zenith extending over an empire that approached in size that of Harun-al-Rashid. He kept his court of Shahinshah or "King of Kings" at Shiraz, but he was fully aware of the great value of Baghdad and made particular efforts to replace some of the prosperity which the city had lost.

Adhudiddawla died at Baghdad in A.D. 983 about a year after the completion of his hospital, and promptly the succession became a matter of dispute. The notables at Baghdad elected his son Shamsuddawla who remained in office for about a year but was then ousted by the brother, Sharafuddawla who did not enjoy the sovereignty for long. Yet during his short reign the arts of peace made some progress. In the year A.D. 988 he ordered the construction of an observatory in

imitation of the one built by Mamun so that the "seven stars" might be watched in their course through the stations of the Zodiac.

It cannot be said that Buwayhid rule of Baghdad was at any time primarily for the benefit of its citizens. Nevertheless some of the Buwayhids and their officers as has been seen, had even been beneficent according to the contemporary standards. The hospital of Adhudiddawla has been noticed as one famous establishment erected for the public benefit. Another was an Academy built by Shapur-ibn-Ardashir, the vizier of Baha-ud-dawla. It was founded in the Karkh in the quarter "Between the Two Walls" in the year A.D. 901 and had a library containing over 10,000 volumes many of them were valuable manuscripts. Unfortunately in A.H. 451 (A. D. 1059) a great fire in the quarter destroyed the library with other property along with the priceless collection of literature and science.

The Buwayhid's influence was not an unmixed blessing. Science and Art received special patronage from the hands of the "King Makers," a university was founded by Bawayhids where students from all over the Caliphate as well as from Greece, Spain and Central Europe received instructions.

Adhudiddawla laid the foundations of a great hospital where there were received "indoor patients" and 24 physicians were on the staff of that hospital. Such buildings and institutions were a great tribute to Baghdad's position and importance in the muslim world. Yet the legendary pre-eminance of Baghdad was gone for ever. It was no longer now the only seat of learning in the muslim world but shared her reputation of being a heart of muslim culture with places that had recently assumed importance e.g. Cairo, Cordova, Ghazni and Shiraz to where men of ambition gravitated in search of fortunes and for immortal fame. Since the coming of the Buwayhids, Iraq had been governed as a mere province of Faris and on one occasion in A.D. 1058, a Buwauhid underling went so far as to gather a crowd in Baghdad and declare publicaly in the mosque of the Caliph Mansur that he and they owed allegiance to the schismatic al-Mustansir, the Fatmid ruler of Egypt.

The Seljuh Turks.

Some times during 1050 A. D. a new virile race of Turkomans made itself felt by raising a tide of people that over-ran Iraq and

Iran. In the meanwhile, behind the attractive facade given by the "intellectual" advance of Baghdad and of the Baghdadies, the political and military structure of the Caliphate was being hollowed out by the very germs that were the "product" of that culture.

The Fatimids were firmly established in Egypt, the Umayyads were ruling Spain. Northern Iraq and Persia were all slashed into pieces each ruled by a tribal chief.

It was destined for the Seljuks to give a smashing blow to the tottering Arab Caliph and establish themselves into the most coveted seat. It was, again, the Seljuk Turks that were finally responsible for the Turkification of Asia Minor, in fact of Modern Turkey, and their conquest extended to Byzantium, which they sacked taking prisoner the Emperor Romanus Deogenes.

Tughrul Beg : A born leader of men, Tughrul Beg the head of the Al-Ghuzz tribe now set his face towards that proverbial land of Shehrazad.

In 1052 A D. the provinces of Faris and Sheraz were attacked. The same year Al-Ghuzz warriors infiltrated through Halwan on to the borders of Iraq.

Bloodless Revolution of 1055 : In 1055 A. D. Tughrul Beg entered Baghdad "with

the permission" of the Caliph and it was on December 18, 1055 A. D. when the Al-Ghuzz prince was proclaimed Sultan. superseding the Buwayhid in the Khutba in every mosque of the city.

An unfortunate incident marred the very begining of the Seljuk regime. Sawari (horse-man) of Tughrul's cavalary stopped an Arab in Bab-ul-Azaj and asked him where he could buy fodder. Misunderstanding both the gesture and language of the Badoo, an alarm was caused which later developed into a free loot on the part of the Seljuk soldiery.

Not only was Baghdad plundered, but also the rich villages adjoining the capital were laid waste, and finally the Al-Ghuzz army marched towards Basrah leaving the country waste where ever they went.

The Al-Ghuzz chief, inspite of the terror and fire that he brought in his trail, was no less beneficent to Baghdad. He dared not touch the person of the Caliph ; instead he took the defeated. Caliph with great honour and to show his unmistakable inclination towards Sunni sect he enforced the Shia inhabitants of Karakh Quarters that their Muadhdhins were to adopt the Sunni Adhan (call to prayers).

The return of Tughrul Beg after a lapse of one year back to Baghdad brought in a complete change towards the attitude of the Baghdadies towards the once 'tyrant Turkoman'. Tughrul Beg was given a grand welcome and was 'presented' ceremoneously to the caliph who was then wearing the prophet's robe aud the ring for that particular occasion. After the usual words of greetings by both of them the Caliph appointed Tughrul the Regent of the realm and invested him with a robe of honour, a Collar and Bracelets and a scented gold embroidered turban.

Tughrul Beg died in Baghdad in 10 3 A.D. and was succeebed by his nephew Aleb Arsalan who in a short reign of nine years was able by hard fighting and tremendous efforts to expand the empire to which he succeeded until it included all the land from the Mediterranean sea to the confines of eastern Persia. To him directly Baghdad does not owe very much,but his mighty vizier who is generally known by the honorific title of the Nidham-ul-Mulk, for a time renewed some of the departed glories of the city. This famous minister,who is associated in legend with Umar-ul-Khayyam and the "Old Man of the Mountain," chief of the Isma'ili Assassins, served Aleb Arsalan and his successor Melik

Shah for a period of thirty years. Being primarily soldiers they left the administration of their empire during that time to the skill of Nidham-ul-Mulk, whose powers were practically absolute.

The result was an era of prosperity of a kind which Baghdad had not known for a long time. In A.H. 457 (A.D. 1065) the building of the famous college began, known after the vizier as the Madrasat-ul-Nidhami College. It was one of the three great schools which he founded and endowed, and it became the most famous of them all. This college also is intended to be revived by the present progressive regime of Iraq.

The Moorish traveller, Ibn Jubayr visited the Madrasa in A. D. 1184 and attended lecture given by the Fakih Radhyuddin-Al-Qasurni. The lecture took place following the afternoon prayers on the Friday—the day after the traveller arrival in Baghdad. When the class was assembled, the lecturer mounted a platform or pulpit, and the students sitting on stools in front of him, read out, or rather intoned the Koran. The Sheikh then delivered an address, interpreting a section of the Koran with a wealth of learning and the application of pertinent traditions of the Prophet. The teacher was assailed by

showers of oral questions from all parts of the room, and when he had answered them with great elaboration and facility, he received a number of written question with which he dealt. By the time he had answered all these, evening prayers were due and the class dispersed.

In Iran, contemporary to this period was that famous Umar-ul-Khayyam the great poet and philosopher. Umar-ul-Khayyam's name is associated with Hasan Sabah who founded the sect of assassins that was out to further the cause of Fatmides by violence.

The story goes that Umar-ul-Khayyam had two school fellows, one was Nidham-ul-Mulk and the other Hasan Sabah and three of them being the best of "chums" had promised themselves, during their boyhood, that if any of them became rich, his wealth will be shared by all the three of them. Luckily Nicham-ul-Mulk became a vizier to Melik Shah. True to his promise, Nidham ul-Mulk shared generously his fortune with Umar-ul-Khayyam and Hasan Sabah and it was an irony that one half of Nidham-ul-Mulk's earning left to posterity the finest gift in the shape of Umar-ul-Khayyam's work, while the other half fed and nurtured the assassin.

Another important figure of that age was the famous Sultan Salah-ud-Din with his historic victories over the Crusaders.

Salah-ud-Din-Al-Ayubi 1137-93 : Sultan Salah-ud-Din known in history as a "Simple Kurd" was an orthodox adherent of the former Caliphate of Baghdad. He succeeded in making himself a master and a Sultan of Syria just when the rest of the Palestinian Arabs were pressed hard by the European invaders. Guy of Lusignan had secured the crown but the famous general Salah-ud-Din was determined to drive him out and all the invaders thus purge the holy land of Palestine from the pernicious European influence.

Salah-ud-Din first over threw the Fatimide Caliphate of Egypt and in 1187 A.D. he came down with his Arab and Kurdish army on to Palestine. He shattered the Latin forces who had the backing of all the European countries including that of the King of England. He took Guy prisoner at the battle of Hattin and four months later Salah-ud-Din recaptured Jerusalem. This great hero and a military leader defeated the combined might of all the European countries. It is an irony that his grave in the by lanes of Damascus, is not known even to the many

local Arabs though he was the greatest benefactor to the Arab people.

Sultan Malik Skah, 1072 *A. D.*: In 1072 A.D. (465 A.H.) Sultan Aleb Arsalan died and was succeeded by his son Malik Shah.

Next year (1073 A.H.) brought in its wake the floods in Tigris. The water level rose so high that the entire town lying towards the east bank got fully submerged. Only the Caliph's palace and the buildings protected by its dykes escaped catastrophy. The period immediately following the floods was an era of prosperity and plentitude. The food was plentiful and cheap, the trade was brisk and bazars were stocked with and packed with customers.

In 1087 A.H. Sultan Melik Shah paid the city one of his rare visits. His main object was to find relaxation after strenuous campaigning. He busied himself fully with shikar, gazelle hunting and other sports and games. Nidham-ul-Mulk came with him and the occasion was fully exploited by the vizier in straightening up the administration of schools and colleges that he had founded. Great headway was made during the period with the building of the parts of the city which the floods had destroyed.

Towards the end of 1091 Nidham-ul-Mulk fell sick but soon recovered. He later quarrelled with his master and was soon dismissed from his office but unluckily Nidham-ul-Mulk met the end of his life by the hands of an assasian. A few weeks later he was followed to the grave by the sultan himself. Both of them lie buried at Baghdad. Ibn-ul-Athir in a moralizing tone peculiar to him says. "Their continuance after this was not long—they were after this all scattered by death and slaughter in battle and in other way. Their armies did not avail them, nor did they accumulate any thing. Praise be to the Ever continuous whose command never ceaseth."

IV

THE PERSIAN AND THE TURKS

The dawn of the thrrteenth centuary had found Baghdad still the incomparable city of the Caliphs. Iraq was still that paradise of grain and gardens known to Sargon, Salucus and to Al-Rashid. This passed for ever when in 1259 Hulaku Khan—grandson of Gengiz Khan extinguished for ever the Khilafat of Baghdad, looted its uncounted riches, slew or scattered its poets, traders, scholars and divines ; reduced it in a day from the peerless seat of Islamic dominion to a shabby outpost of Il Khan's Empire. The following three centuries separating his annihilating visit uptil the conquest by Sulaiman the Magnificent (in 1539) fall in to four periods.

(a) For eighty years Baghdad was a seat of Government of the Mougul Emperors. (b) For another seventy years (i.e. early 15th Century 1410) it was the southern Capital of the State carved by a vessel from the weakened body of that Empire. (c) It fell in 1410 to a half tribal dynasty of Turkomans

to be cleft from them by compatriot rivals. (d) In 1508 it was absorbed in the growing kingdom of Safawi Persia.

The Il Khan's Empire though confined to one family was none-the-less ill knit and ill controlled. It was based neither on consent nor wealth, but on a superior virility which must itself give way to a yet greater one. In the Mougul Empire, administratively, Basrah, Baghdad and Jazireh were not a single unit. The administration on the whole, was far from being beneficial to the public. On very rare occasion do we find a work of charity like digging a canal or erecting a mosque. One exception to this has been the administration of Ghazan Khan about 1308 A. D. who may well be called a genuine benefactor of Baghdad. His reforms in law and government, his Shia pieties and his frequent presence in Iraq did raise a hope of revival of Baghdad. But inspite of that it became impossible. Routes could not be secured and few would sow where another might reap. Most ruinous of Halaku's act (in 1258) had been the destruction of dykes headworks whose ancient and perfected system had been the sole source of wealth to Iraq. Disordered times and the very fewness of spirited survivors forbade repair

and the silting of rivers once let loose kept the problem unsolved till today.

The death of Ghazan Khan in 1314 fatally weakened family of Halaku. The childless death of its last surviving monarch Abu-Said was followed by a civil war.

Taymur the Lame 1393 *A.D.*: Baghdad had a respite hardly for half a century from the savage loot of Halaku when in 1393 Taymur the Lama appeared at the gates of Baghdad. The Jala'ir (the then Governor of Baghdad) bowed to the storm ; he rose as it passed and expelled the Moughul Governor. In 1401 it broke in fury. Sultan Ahmed (the Governor along with Qara Yusif fled to the court of Yilderim Bo-yazid, fourth of the Ottoman Sultans. Baghdad fell easily to the armies of Taymur. Thousands were massacred, mosques, schools and dwellings were demolished. If the massacre and losses were less dreadful than those of ruination of the Khalifate by Gengiz Khan, it was because Baghdad in 1401 had not the same pride to be humbled—the same materials to show atrocity.

The Turkumans: The death of Taymur in 1405 allowed the return of the Jalayir and Turkuman princes to their thrones. Iraq was reorganised. Baghdad refortified with

walls which tested by a score of sieges, still stood to be peacefully dismantled in the nineteenth century when the city was being widened out.

The Persian (Safawis) 1508: The rapid rise of the Safawi power could not fail to threaten and displace the distracted empire of the Turkumans. In 1499 Shah Ismail led troops to Sherwan and annexed that region; within a year all western Persia to the Gulf was the Safawis. His officers in every town. Barik at that time was the Governor of Baghdad. The Shah turning with deadly rapidity from conquest to conquest dispatched his lieutenant Lal Hussain, to capture the city which was easily accomplished. In June 1498 Baghdad was occupied by the Safawis and another page turned in the history of Iraq.

By this time Iraq became completely habituated to disorders, to change, to bloodshed and to alien rulers. For eight generations each year had seen the country sink further back into tribalism, insecurity and dependence. Each month had brought news of dynastic rise and fall and brought in its wake a fresh governor to Baghdad.

Dhul Fiquar: There is no record available as to how this "Don Juan" of Baghdad assumed power and took over the reigns of

of government." Our efforts towards finding the antecedents of Dhul-Fiquar (as to where he came from and how was it that he suddenly came into picture) have completely failed.

Even the 'stories' and 'grandmothers tales' do not go into the details of the "method" by which Dhul-Fiquar became a master of Baghdad and of Central Iraq. However, immediately after coming into power, Dhul-Fiquar's first effort was to secure the tutelage under Stambol which was soon granted.

Safawis Regain Power: In 1550 King Themasep on hearing the usurpation by Dhul-Fiquar marched towards Baghdad via Kirmanshah and once again the city was besieged. Treachery succeeded where Safawi arms had failed. Dhul-Fiquar died fighting desperately in his own house. The traitor brothers were loaded with favours. The Government of Baghdad was given to Mahmud Khan of Anatolian Province of Turkey. The Shah appointed royal officers to governorship of Kirkuk, Hilla, Mandili. Jazira and Rammahiyya and himself returned to Qaswin.

The Turks on the Scene: In 1585 the Persian court heard with alarm the giant war-like preparations at Istambul.

In the early autumn of 1553 the Turkish Sultan Sulaiman and his vizier Ibrahim Pasha launched two pronged attack on the Safawi usurpers of the Baghdad Vilayat. In April 1534 crossing the Euphrates at Birijiz he reached Diyarbakar on May 14. After a halt of six weeks time which was utilized solely to equipping themselves and rendering the 'maintenance' to machines of war, the Turks then headed towards the heart of the kingdom i.e., Baghdad. Mahmud Tekkeli, the Governor of Baghdad installed by Shah Tahmasp of Persia, on hearing the arrival of the Turkish Sultan, fled towards Persia. Baghdad was left without a sovereign. Thus the Turks got an easy 'walk over' the Persians.

Sultan Sulaiman Qanooni: The entry of Sultan Sulaiman into Baghdad was full of pomp and show. According to the stories still current among the "Badoos" a very great amount of vegetation was hacked to provide buntings to gorgeous gates that were erected in the honour of the Sultan. The shopkeepers displayed their best and the most expensive belongings on to the entrance gates; "for more than a mile, the road was covered with expensive carpets."

This memorable occasion of the entry of Sultan Sulaiman opened a new and a

brighter chapter in the fortunes of Baghdad.

The Turkish administration was really a big change to the awfull mess that had befallen the fortunes of Iraq during the period of turmoil and a rapid change of hands in the immediate past years.

The Sultan himself was full of zeal and enthusiasm for Islam. His first act was to bridge the gulf that then existed between Sunnies and Shias. In fact this Sunni-Shia difference had been made a tool to further the sectional interest of the Arabs and of the Persians.

The Turks being neither interested in Arabs nor Persians, were perfectly neutral and hence Sultan Sulaiman's policy was to respect the divines of Sunnies and Shias equally as after all a Shia divine was as much to be respected by a true Musulman as that of a Sunni.

Immediately on arrival in Baghdad the Sultan made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sayyed Abdul Kadir-al-Gay-llani and to the two Shia shrines of Imam-ul-Kadhim and that of Al-Imam Taqi. In order to get closer to the heart of Shias, he ordered the completion of the great mosque that was begun by Shah Ismail and the completion of which was interrupted by political unstability. The

Turkish Sultan gave out generous estates equally to Sunni and Shia incumbents.

At his first opportunity he discovered and restored the tomb of Abu Hanifa, the founder of one of the four Sunni sects. He rebuilt the sacred city of Karbala and made arrangements for fresh water supply to various towns. A dyke still standing and effective, was raised to protect town from floods. The Husainiyyah Canal was widened to bring constant waters to convert dusty wastes to gardens and rich corn fields.

The Annexation of Basrah : The Turkish administration, soon won over the confidence of the public. It also created an awe into the hearts of the independent tribes. The head of Arab tribesmen who had hitherto ruled Basrah with shadowy allegience to Shah now hastened to send his son Rashid with the keys and obsequious massage to the Sultan. Basrah was thus incorporated into the Ottoman dominion and received the titular status of Valayait. After establishing the power of the Ottomans in Iraq, Sultan Sulaiman left Baghdad leaving Sulaiman Pasha installed (who was formerly a Governor of Diyarbakar) as the first Ottoman Viceroy of Baghdad.

The Country and the Administration : The history of Iraq in the sixteenth century is

in fact the history of the incoming and outgoing governors of Baghdad. The dominent feature and the cause of various phases of military operations was a constant hostility of the Turkish Empire with that of the Persians. This unending hostility and the series of protracted wars left the most unhealthy effect on the population and the general progress of science and literature. It also affected the economy of the country and retarded the development of its resources.

The flow of pilgrims to the holy shrines of Shias and the Sunnies was very badly affected, as also was the exchange of commerce with Isphahan and Tabriz. The port of Basrah lost most of its revenues. The turbnlant tribes living around Basrah and the Jazair region had always been a headache to the rulers of Baghdad, their suppression a constant worry. In 1686 Ahmad Pasha, a brother of an officer of the ruler of Baghdad, was appointed the Governor of Baghdad by the 'Imperial Farman.' The problems for him, as for anybody, still remained unsolved.

The Government : An account by contemporary chroniclers, both Arabs and foreign travellers shows that the Government at Baghdad was by no means inefficient. Al-

though many of the town amenities of today, e.g conservancy, schools, town planning, hospitals, were lacking, town life nevertheless, was secure and not uncomfortable. The greatest cities in history have lacked sanitation not less completely. Dark and narrow streets were half intended for protection from summer glare. The settled people of Iraq have, at all times, felt pride in their township, with a love of simple and decorous social intercourse. Baladiyyah on the later pattern did not yet exist but there was in every settlement an informal council of leading citizens. Medicine was administered by Hakims who excelled in their art. Religious opressions did not exist. Sectarian differences were less acute than anywhere in contemporary Europe.

Under Quranic law, there is compulsory conscription for all musalmans at the time of war (i.e. Jehad). This law was obviously inoperative for non-muslims, who were, in return for the immunity to Government conscriptions, had to pay a nominal tax in lieu. This tax in fact was the price paid by the non-muslims to buy off their liability towards conscription. The principles on which the "Poll Tax" under muslim administration was based upon had always been ignored or mis-

represented to the world in a carefully twisted language by European and Hindu writers of medieval history. This has been due partly to their ignorance of the facts and partly to the bias. Now, that the facts of history are coming out in a better and more conclusive shape, their policy is gradually drifting towards stating the truth.

After all the "Poll Tax" had not been very different to some of the restrictions, whether pecuniary or of a different shape, placed upon various communities and of foreign nationals in some cf the leading and loudly proclaimed democracies of this age. Taking a dispassionate view, the liability of the non-muslims citizen towards "Jizia," (the Poll Tax) was far less onerous and exacting than the liability of a similarly placed muslim citizen towards a muslim state. It was by no means 'humiliating' or 'discriminating' towards the non-muslims.

Barring this Poll Tax, there was no distinction between any religion, caste or sect. All sects paid their customs octrois, dates and sheep tax, their bazar dues on weighing and vending.

The governors of the four capital cities had each a troop of armed personnel atten-

dents as well as a regiment or more of guards locally raised and armed with matchlocks. They were paid and were permanent but provincial and not imperial. The backbone of the entire administration was the regular army of the Sultan, under his own central administration. Imperial gunners manned the greater fortresses, Imperial infantry—the Janis-saries were in every Sanjak.

The Second Persian Occupation : Eighty-seven years after the conquest of Sulaiman the Magnificent, Iraq was now to fall to the Persians, partly to peaceful succession from within and partly to treachery.

The Occupation by Bakr the Su-Bashi : Bakr origninally was a mere Janissary of Baghdad - later promoted to the rank of Su-Bashi (Lieutenant of Police) became a captain of his Company and rose to a permanent position in the garrison. Wealth and alliance with ruthless ambition more and more magnified his power. By 1669 his influence exceeded to that of the weak ruler—Yusif Pasha. He was, so to say, an uncrowned king of Baghdad. Later, after more intrigues and more political murders Bakr produced a forged firman and proclamed his appointment to the Pashaliq.

An internal intrigue and the failure of crops, consequently the famine, made Bakr, the Su-Bashi, to look towards Persian help. Messangers left Baghdad for Persian bearing the keys of the city to Shah Abbas. They were received with livliest pleasure. A strong force under Safi Quli Khan (the Governor of Hamadan) was formed and sent towards Baghdad. In the meantime the reply given by Su-Bashi to the firman of the Persian King was a bit exaggerated and smelt sarcasm. This further strained the relations of the invaders with the governor of Baghdad. Curiously enough, Su-Bashi decided to resist. Frantic 'S. O. S.' calls of Su-Bashi to Diyarbakr and Istambul brought no response. The city was besieged.

The third month of the siege began. In the city the famine assumed horrible form. The flesh of dogs, of children and even of corpses was cousumed. On the night of 8th November merely by the treachery of Muhammad—the son of Su-Bashi, that the gates were opened. Thousands of Persian troops entered the town. At dawn every house and minaret rang with the blast of Persian trumpets. Poor Su-Bashi was captured and dragged before the Shah where he found his son seated in

state beside the monarch, and, was then killed.

The Persian occupation of Baghdad brought neither wealth nor honour. No work of development or improvement marked the period. Less and less, as Turkish arms held Kirkuk and Mosul and spent years under the walls of Baghdad, could Safi Quli Khan control the capital itself and freedom of pilgrimage to the Holy Cities. From the moment of its loss the recapture of Baghdad was a pressing ambition of the Ottoman court.

Sulaiman Murad and the recapture of Baghdad by the Turks—1638: On the [illegible]th of May, 1638, all preparations were made and all resources of the empire mobilized and exactly directed. The army broke its camp to begin march on Baghdad. On the 15th, of November 1638 the army descended from Jalil Hussain via Kirkuk and camped near Baghdad.

This was the last visit of an Ottoman Sultan to Iraq—the last exploit of the great warrior king of his time.

The tent of the Sultan was placed upon a small eminence by the Tigris, close to the mosque of Abu Hanifa. He would not enter the shrine until victory had made him worthy

to venerate the saint. And he had not to wait long for that.

On the 23rd of December 1638 the attack was launched but was repulsed. Another assault, fierce and more determined, was made on the 25th, December 1638 that brought the city in the "palm of the hand" of Sultan Murad. Kuktash Khan the Persian Governor offered to capitulate and capitulation was accepted. A few days after the capitulation a most unhappy incident renewed the scenes of bloodshed. The powder magazine of Baghdad took fire consequently a few Turkish soldiers lost their lives. This incident was taken as an "act of sabotage" on the part of the Persians. A few thousand Persians lost their lives within two hours.

On the 17th of February 1639 Sultan Murad and a part of his army left Baghdad by Tabriz.

Hassan Pasha—the Little (1639-1641): Before leaving Baghdad, Sultan Murad Pasha appointed his trusted Lieutenant "Hassan Pasha, the Little", as Governor of Baghdad. No event of any importance is reported by historians that is associated with him or seems to have occured during his regime. A detailed account of the visit to Baghdad of Imam

Quli, the King of Turkistan is the only solitary incident reported.

Hassan—the Little, was followed by another trusted companion of Sultan Murad known in history as "Hassan, the Mad." This funny character wanted to emulate the reputation of Haran-ul-Rasheed. Whereas the intentions of Harun-ul-Rasheed were directed less towards spying than towards "getting the insight" of his subject, the Turkish Governor's disguise was in fact intended to camouflage the systematic extirpation of the enemies of the Turkish regime. This ruthless stamping did bring in marked improvement in the law and order of Baghdad. The "thief" and the "bad character," it is said disappeared. No body could dare touch the property that did not belong to him. "You could leave handful of gold by the roadside and come the next day and pick it up undistrubed." Hassan the Mad was a great patron of learnings and art. He founded and subsidized various schools and religious institutions. The Qumriyya was repaired by him where scholars from "distant lands" used to receive religious instructions.

The regime of "Hassan the Mad" came to an end in the autumn of 1643 when Ibrahim Pasha was installed as the Governor;

only to be followed by Qara Mustafa Pasha in the summer of 1651. Mahmud "The White" succeeded Qara Mustafa who remained a Governor for 16 months. Thus we come to the close of the 17th century.

Administration: Life in Iraq at that time, judging the contemporary standards, was far easier and sweeter than anywhere in the world. Contrary to intolerance prevalent in contemporary Europe where people of other sects were lynched and burnt alive; Christians and Jews lived under the Turkish regime with perfect safety to their life and their culture. The same Christian sects were found then as are present even in the present time. The Nestorioans had their own church. Orders were represented by Capuchines and Carmelites. The records show that 1781 (during the Pashaliq of Hassan Pasha—the Abu-Khairat) a carmelite mission house and a few churches were erected at the state expense at Baghdad.

Northern Iraq: The administration of various provinces was decentralized to a very great extent. The northern provinces of Mosul and Shahrazur (the capital of which was Kirkuk) was autonomous to the extent that seldom was an interference made in the affairs of northern Iraq except when military

aid was required. Only once in 1540 the same Governor (Hassan Pasha the Mad) was given the Government of the Northern Pashaliq and of the Villayat of Baghdad. In fact great deal depended upon the personality of the Governor. If a person with dominating personality came into power, naturally the other Pashas were subordinate to him. The technical aspect of the chain of command was very clear i.e. it was a rule as well as a practice that a ruler of a Sanjak or even a "Mir-e-Miran" was subordinate to and under command of a Beglerbashi or a Wazir."

While the higher commands were still thus fluid, the smaller were gradually taking a definite shape. As the tribes by rise and fall in their number, or by migration and settlement, gradually took more and more their present locations, and the administrative value of natural boundaries became clearer, the Valayaits split up as the charges of Mutasallim, Sanjaq begi, or Dhabit, into units agreeing more and more with those of the nineteenth century. Time honour'ed limits of a tribal area or hereditary estate or natural valley or of watershed became those of the future Nahiyah or Qada, which were recognized by fiefholder and garrison

"Agha," by the "Daftardar". and his tax-farmers.

The area covered by the two Valayaits included regions directly administered, as well as the Kurdish city states and tribes which were held with the lightest hand. About the settled and governed parts of the Shahrazor province, nothing is left on record. "Neither the pleasant city of Kirkuk, nor the string of Turkomen towns on the main route, nor the many villages of rain cultivators, had changed character in the last two centuries."

Turkish influence, where goverment found blood, language and religion cogenial, had deepened more than the Arab plains or the Kurdish mountains ever made possible. Of the successive Pashas and the incidents of their day,no record remains." (S.H.Longrig).

Nadir Shah Durrani. The wheels of time moved quickly and days passed into months and months into years. We then come to another. important event in the history of Iraq, the crossing of the border by Nadir Quli IKhan(also known as Nadir Shah Durrani) in January 1733.

Nadir Quli and the Siege of Baghdad: In the early eighteenth century the Afghans gained the crown of Persia by tribal vigour

and due to the corruption of the Safawies themselves.

Nadir Quli, born in a middle class family, became the head of Afsar tribe in 1688. With occasional raids and minor conquests he became the terror of the age and it was on the day of Nawruz (Persian New Year Day) March 19, 1733, that Nadir Quli Khan occupied the Kirkuk bridge on his way to the conquest of Baghdad.

Baghdad at that time was governed by the Turkish Ahmed Pasha. Frantic appeals for help were made to Istambul. Summer drew close and the June 1733 saw Baghdad besieged by the Persian Army.

As the time dragged, the condition within the besieged city got very acute. The only hope that could sustain the hungry and the starved citizens of Baghdad was the Turkish help of forces that were on way under the most experienced veteran Usman Pasha the Lame.

1st Battle with Nadir Quli (*July* 1733): On 17th July 1733 Nadir Quli left his city camp at Baghdad and advanced ten leagues upstream. Topal Usman Pasha had also reached the outskirts. In the ensuing battle Nadir's Persian forces were completely defeated and fled towards Persia.

Nadir Returns: Nadir haulted at Hame-

dan and reorganised his armies. In the meantime Topal Usman Pasha, the deliverer of Baghdad, after completing the task, was on his way back. Usman Pasha had hardly reached a few weeks time that news was brought of Nadir's return towards Iraq. This time towards Kirkuk—obviously to avenge the defeat.

Battle of Lailan (October 1733): The plain of Lalian spreading south-eastward from Kirkuk between low hills of the Tang river, was the scene of final battle on 26th Cctober 1733. This time the Turks were completely defeated and Topal Usman Pasha was slained. The body of the great Turkish general, Topal Usman was brought before the Regent who stood for a time in silence and surveyed it with awful reverence before sending it with escort to Baghdad to Ahmed Pasha (who was still the governor).

News of the great defeat was received with horror equally at Istambul and at Baghdad.

Nadir Returns : In the meantime revolt in Fars compelled Nadir Quli to return to his country without finally subdueing Baghdad

Threat to Iraq from the Persians had not yet completely finished. The Shah of Persia had vast ambitions. He insisted that the Sultan should break off his Mogul alliance

and demolish recent improvements in the wall of Baghdad. In 1741 the Persian embassy demanded the formal acceptance of the Jafari Sect. The claim was rejected. The Persian threat became more real in June 1741 when the Persian troops crossed Iraq frontiers of Mandali and in the Shahrazur and alarmed Baghdad with an unfulfilled threat. Ahmed Pasha the governor of Baghdad had already taken "provision action" in filling the granaries and repairing the walls.

Nadir's Siege of Mosul: In the later days of September 1743, the enemy was sighted 3 miles away. After reorganising his troops Nadir laid siege on the town of Mosul. After a very close siege an assault was planned. A few mines were exploded and a breach was made in the city wall. "Again fate by a narrow margine declared in the favour of the Garrison. A hail of missilies was poured upon the assailants who failed to widen the breach; fire was brought by the Persians and hurled upon the wooden gates,—a breeze carried it back upon its authors. The walls were scaled —the heads of scalers fell upon their comrades below. For some hours raged a conflict fierce with desperated efforts on both sides. At last the breach blocked with the dead and dying, was mended and re-mended,

Nadir Shah now offered generous terms to the Pasha (Ahmed Pasha) at Baghdad which were accepted.

While Mosul thus gallantly saved itself, hostile armies had been seem in the South. A Persian force had threatened Basrah, only to retire after 3 months half-hearted siege. Thus ended a period of long strife and sporadic wars in Iraq.

Sulaiman the Great and the Siege of Basrah: In 1765 Sulaiman Agha was appointed Mutasarrif of Basrah. The conditions in the Port had been without any marked change for quite a long time and a continued trade kept on flowing in and out of the country.

The French Agent—first a priest, later a layman—kept permanent house in Basrah after 1755. The Portuguese had gone for ever. The Dutch moved to Kharek island in 1752. Several Italians had business at the port. Armenians and Jews bargained with Persian and Indian. Arab traders brought Yemen coffee and returned with dates. The Honourable Company (British concern) imported metalware and woollens and bartered these for cash and for Persian Silk. Its representative promoted from Resident to Agent in 1763, was in 1754 strengthened by the grant of Consular status.

The prosperity of the Port became (among other causes) of strained relations between the Pasha and the Regent. During the same period (1773) a terrific plague took a huge toll of life. As the plague subsided, the menace of invasion grew. News of a threatened Persian attack was abroad. On 16th March 1773 the long expected enemy—some thirty thousand strong—reached the Shatt-ul-Arab. On the 16th April the Persians formed their Camp three miles upstream of Ashar. At this news the entire town of Basrah stood against the invading Persians as one, and the whole manhood of the town was in arms. Negros and Armenians rubbed shoulders with janissary and marsh Arabs. The Carmelian monks too were among the forces of Sulaiman. The energy and contagious spirit of the Mutesallim were the very soul of the defence.

"The most sorry incident of the siege was, that though originally the British Agent —as were the Agents of France and Portugal and other foreign national, decided to stay in the town, but during the night of 11th April 1773 the British Agent and his staff slipped out of the town in a most inglorious and shameful manner. Their part had been both inconsistant and inglorious, since the correct policy of neutrality had been decided by the

British. No sooner had the Persian Army appeared that a British ship had sailed upstream and made contact with Sadiq Khan. The agent and the counsul were at all times to be seen riding round the walls, parleying with the Mutasallim, giving warnings and advice. After so complete an identification of the Company with the Turkish defence in the first instance, the stealthy embarkation of the Englishmen during the night of attack was a sorry end." (S. H. Longrig).

The siege of Basrah dragged on without any hope of assistance for the Basrawites from outside. It was only the determination of Sulaiman Agha that sustained the defence throughout the winter of 1776. By April 1776 provisions, ammunition and resistance was exhausted. A letter was received from Baghdad to Sulaiman Agha advising him to surrender. The Mutasallim, Sulaimam Agha and a party of notables were sent to honourable captivity in Shiraz.

Administration under Mamluks: Judging by the contemporary standards in Europe and the East, the administration of Iraq except during a stormy period of raids and conquests, was by no mean of a poor standard.

The Pasha, though not an integeral part

of the Turkish Empire, was still a vital link. The greatest possible amount of autonomy was enjoyed by the pashaliq of Iraq.

The principal officers of administration, apart from the major governorship of Basrah, Kirkuk and Mardin were the Kahya (counterpart of the grand wazir at Istambul), several Musahibs, courtiers and councillers-(amoung whom was the Babul' Arab, an official spokesman of the Arab tribe), the regular member of the Diwan, Daftardr, Secretary of the Diwan Chief Chamberlain, Chief enquiry, head of the Bailiffs and Warden of the private apartment.

The revenue of the Pashaliq was collected by expedients of varying age and reign, some survivals of feudal usage and some devised newly by the latest Pasha. The custom dues were less vexatious to trade and travel than the wayside tolls of every sheikh and village headman. Further source of income was the taxes on goods in transit and by the state monopoly of certain trades. Any abuse of Pasha's privileges and injustice could be reported straight to Istambul and redress was obtained.

The Pasha's orders were executed in the chief towns by janissary posts and by the bailiffs. Kadhi was the chief source of

justice, his H.Q. in Baghdad. New schools and a printing press in later years were founded. Baghdad was beautified by new mosques and the triple arched bazar which today shelters its busiest exchanges. Many new dwelling houses were built in the fashion of the period, more grand and more durable than any thing built since.

Communications and Trade: The communications of Iraq with western Europe had increased since the later eighteenth century. Many travellers passed to and from Iraq. The labouring river craft for Basrah brought the satin and velvets of France, English cloth, metal goods from Germany, glass of Vienna and Bohemia and sugar of America. French and Italian religious orders had settlements and the Patriarch of Babylon often combined the charge of his See with the post of counsel for France. In 1797 a French political mission passed through Iraq.

The British Company was gaining further and further ground. In 1783, Baghdad had become the permanent station of a native Agent. In 1798 due to Nepoleonic influence, a permanent British Resident was appointed. The increase in British influence during Daud Pasha's administration was very marked. From 1807 to 1809, though war had broken

out in Europe between Great Britain and Turkey the British representatives in Iraq remained unmolested and continued to enjoy the diplomatic privileges.

The Age of Reforms: The later part of the eighteenth century saw reforms of far reaching influence in Iraq. Sultan Salim ascended the throne in Istambul in 1789. By temperament, training and conviction he was a first class reformer. During a reign of twenty years he advanced far towards destroying the anachronism whereby his country became weak, mutineous and backward. Feudal abuses were abolished by the gradual absorption of feudal lands into the domains of the State. Schools were founded, printing encouraged, foreign works were translated into Turkish, and missions despatched to the capitals of Europe. In military reforms he proceeded comparatively slowly yet too fast for the times. He allowed the creation of army regiments on modern lines. Thus we find Istambul galloping far ahead in matters of reforms and progress. But the shape of things in Iraq was quite different. Far flung in space and enjoying more or less an absolute autonomy Iraq could very hardly be affected by the reforms in the Imperial Capital. Few of the Mamluk Aghas had visited Istambul,

few knew the very geography of the Empire. The Pasha of Baghdad (richest of all the provinces save Egypt) shirked to help his sovereign when Turkey was involved in a life and death struggle with Russia. This led to the more firm integration of the far flung Turkish provinces.

The first step was a despatch of a mission of a solemn envoy to demand relinquishment of power by Mamluk Pasha. Sadiq Effindi a noted diplomat was selected for this duty. Unfortunately the diplomacy of the Effindi proved fruitless before the intrigues of Daud Pasha (the Mamluk governor of Baghdad) and poor Sadiq Effindi lost his life by the hands of paid assassins on 19th October 1830.

The news of the murder of Sadiq Effindi caused consternation at Istambul and Haji Muhammed Ali Raza Pasha was sent to "teach a lesson to Daud Pasha" the governor to Baghdad. In Jan. 1831 Haji Muhammad Ali Raza Pasha left Allepo for Baghdad.

The Great Plague : The hands of God were more stern and firmer than those of a man. Early July 1830 rumours reached Baghdad of plague in Tabriz. The incoming caravans and the ceaseless flow of men and camel brought the epidemic to Iraq. On

21st of February 1830, it was learnt that the Sultan had pronounced Daud Pasha a rebel and an outlaw. On the 20th March the first case of plague occured in Baghdad. All accounts of this appalling visitation agree in details of its terrible results. By the 10th of April thousands had died. In 15 days, food became almost unobtainable and the city life was suspended- All efforts of the living to keep pace with the rate of burial could not avail.

Floods: From the 21st of April a fresh source of terror appeared. The Tigris was in high flood somewhat later than its time. On the night of 26th a section of the wall of the citadel collapsed. Two hundred houses fell in the first few hours; within twenty four hours the greater part of the sarai and seven thousand houses were in fallen ruin, burying the sick, the dead, and the few healthy in a common grave. By the 30th April the floods had subsided a yard, and by the end of the first week of May not only the flood, but the intensity of the plague had passed its worse.

The Fall of Daud: Daud Pasha did survive the raveges of plague and flood but he could no more stand now the displeasure of the Sultan and of Istambul.

Ali Ridha Pasha was sent to teach a

lesson to Daud. Ali Ridha was assisted in his task by Qasim Pasha of Mosul. The joint armies advanced towards Baghdad and with the willing co-operation of Baghdadies (who by this time got really fed up of the Mamluks) there came a definite swing of public opinion towards "Baghdad to be governed by Baghdadies." The germs of nationalism i.e. nationalism based on and bounded by territorial limits of a country, were gaining ground in Iraq. After a brief confusion, on 13th June 1830, the Turkish Ali Ridha Pasha lost complete faith of the Baghdadies (because of his guards burning the royal palace in Baghdad along with precious possession). The public opinion swung in favour of Daud.

Letters left the city for Istambul imploring for a united Iraq under Saleh or Daud. The notables of Baghdad offered greatly to increase and faithfully to pay the annual tribute, besides indemnity, for all the Ali Pasha's Army. To Ali they wrote that his advance would meet closed gates and their stoutest resistence. 'Let him, like themselves, await the orders of their common soverign.'

Ali Ridha met the representation of the Baghdadies with contempt and decided to lay siege to the city. Poverty and disorder grew on both the sides ; within the city and among

the ranks and files of Ali Ridha's army. The intrigues of traitors and deserters within the wall had detached many from the side of the old regime.

Fall of Baghdad : On 14 September companies of Ali Ridha's army entered unopposed. The city had blood-lessly changed hands. Thus was closed a long and a fruitless regime of Mamluk Pashas in Iraq.

Period of Reforms : Iraq during the Mamluk regime was an autonomous province more or less detached from the Turkish Empire. With the advent of Sultan Salim at Istambul, Turkey was progressing, profiting by the new inventions of the age. Old order was giving place to the new. With the removal of Daud Pasha from Baghdad, Iraq became a province and an integeral part of progressive Turkey.

The Dawn of Modern Era :

The passage of the country from medieval to a modern plane opened a new chapter in the history of Iraq. It increased Iraq's points of cooperation and friction with the rest of the world. It made Iraq an arena, a gymnasium for foreign diplomacy. France, later Germany and (always) England, and now America, had been keeping eyes on the oils of Iraq and its strategic importance.

Whereas the eighteenth century trade Consul had humbly asked nothing but capitulation and to be left alone, the nineteenth century Resident was the spokesman of steamship companies, telegraph construction parties, archaelogists, and, of geological research parties. Nor did the occasional "appeals" by tribesmen for British interference into Iraq's domestic affairs, and the foreign gold that had been corrupting the poor Sheikhs, fail to annoy the Pashas.

Administrative Groupings : Big changes were made in the administrative groupings of the provinces of Iraq. New groups of Valayats (Valayat means a province, a largest administrative unit) were formed. Mardin was taken away from Iraq and attached to Dayarbakar in 1835. The Kurdish states, as they successivly fell into direct Turkish rule, were grouped under Mosul and Kirkuk. Mosul in 1850 became a Sanjak of Baghdad while Basrah the same year became a separate Valayat. After twelve years Basrah was reduced to the office of a Mutasarrif and raised once again to Valayat in 1875.

Communications : The appearance in Iraq and the use of modern transport and surveying of land and river roats occured under Daud. Ali Ridha had in 1833 advocated

steam enterprise on the rivers, and in 1839 the component parts of four iron steamers were disembarkedat Basrah. A Britisher (Lynch by name) obtained authority from Baghdad to maintain two steamers. This was, in fact, the dawn of the opening of the Eupherates and Tigris.

Road Transport: It is surprising that right up to the middle of ninteenth century road vehicles had not come into fashion very much. The horses and donkeys still remained the means of conveyance for the middle class.

In 1865, a Frenchmen, Conte de-Pertheris, journeyed from Damascus to Baghdad and proposed to open up this route to carriages, but Namuq Pasha already bitter against foreign boats on the Tigris, forbade particpation and warned Conte against muddling with tribes.

In Europe, meanwhile greater and stranger schemes had been mooted. In 1842 an Irish manufacturer had planned a railway from Calais via Istambul to Calcutta and Peking. In 1854 W. P. Andrew formed a company to construct a railway from Mediterranean to the Gulf. The enterprise secured official support including that of Palmerston and Sir Stafford Carving, the Turkish Government was favourable but it fizzled

out due to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Post and Telegraph : Telegraph service preceeded the Postal Service in Iraq and followed the inaguration of steam navigation. Iraq holds the most important and a central place in the Middle East. Turkey herself was in sore need of maintaining better communications within her Empire. Scheme was put forward for a submarine cable from India to Basrah and through the bed of the Tigris to Baghdad. For England, after the mutiny, any scheme for quicker contact with the East was welcome.

In 1856, the Turkish and the British governments agreed on the erection of lines by British engineers and in the summer of 1861 communication by land (line) was established between Istambul and Baghdad while in 1865 Baghdad to Khanaqin line was completed. Thus by the end of nineteenth century the telegraph lines of Iraq were linked with those of Turkey, of Persia and of the Gulf and with India.

In 1868 with the agreement of Takly-ud-Din Pasha, British Indian Post Offices were opened in Baghdad and Basrah. In 1876 Turkey participated in the Paris conference and in its postal convention. Thereafter the

attitude to the British policy vis-a-vis Iraq. regarding posts and telegraph was marked by constant diplomatic letters at Istambul and local campaign for these services in Iraq. Turkish post offices were gradually opened and the telegraph services were extended to all the larger towns.

VI

THE NEW ERA

Midhat Pasha : He was a born administrator. In 1852 Midhat Pasha was deputed by the Sultan of Turkey to inquire into the abuses in the administration of Damascus and Aleppo. This was a fore taste of his future career in Iraq.

In 1869 he was appointed to succeed Taqi'l Din Pasha as Wali (Governor) of Baghdad.

Midhat's tour of administration marks definitely the advent of Modern Age in Iraq. Among the measures he instituted, the erection of public buildings, a newspaper, military ordnance factories, hospitals and an orphanage and numerous schools, a tramway to Kadhimiyya, and the association of beneficient modernity in administration are but a very few measures from out of a long list.

He enforced conscription, founded municipalities and administrative councils and applied the new vilayat system. In fact the towns of Nasiriyah and Ramadi were but his creation.

British Interference in Internal Affairs of Mesopotamia (Iraq): By this time the British Empire in India was a flourishing concern. To hold on to this empire, it was essential to ensure the safety of the lines of communications. Achievement of this objective in military as well as in political sphere became therefore a joint responsibility of the Government of India and of the White Hall. It was of supreme importance to 'Delhi' (as it is even now), to see that this region would not become so strong and united as to adversly affect its interest. For this very reason the British (and their successor, the Brahmin Government of India) created special interests in the small principalities with a view ultimately to weakening the entire region as a whole. The Indian currency was introduced in the Gulf States and Aden. Hindu businessmen and technicians were pushed into that area to drive a permanent wedge in the unity and possible unification of that area with the rest of the muslim world. The present Brahmin Government of Delhi is carrying out the same policy but using modern methods of propaganda, and, the technique of creating states on the principle of nationalism based on variable factors rather than on an ever-

lasting ideal i.e. the principle of the unity of the 'Millat-a-Ibrahim'.

During that time Great Britain was re-represented in Iraq by a Resident in Baghdad and by an Assistant Political Agent (from 1808 by a Consul) at Basrah, and a Vice Consul at Mosul who naturally carried out the orders of their Government by constantly interfering with the internal affairs particularly with the minorities like the Kurdish people and the Assyrain and Armenian Christians of that area.

Midhat's Administration: Iraq to a certain extent, shared the internal fortunes of Turkey. With the appointment of Midhat Pasha as a Wali of Baghdad and due to the quicker means of communications, Iraq became an integeral part of the Turkish Empire.

The first act of Midhat Pasha was to announce the application to Iraq, of 'Vilayat' system, already formulated by him and used on the Danube. Thus were introduced administrative arrangements which survived with little change till 1914. Every town and village was graded according to its importance and was grouped into a district or a sub-district under administrative control of a Mutasarrif, the Qaimmuqam or the Mudir of the Sanjak, Qadha or of Nahiyah. At each

unit of administration an appointed cadre of officials performed defined duties ; and an elected council assisted the administrative head. According to the contemporary standards in Asia, Midhat's administrations was very democratic indeed.

Basrah remained a mere Sanjak of Baghdad until its reconstitution as a Vilayat in 1875. Al'Hasa became a sanjak in 1871 and in subsequent years it suited Turkish policy to bestow the names of their official appointments upon various other of the Gulf Potentates.

In 18°0 Basrah again became a sanjak, in 1884 its Vilayat was reformed. Mosul was reduced to the office of a Mutasarrif in 1850, and in 1879 it again became a Vilayat with dependent sanjaks of Kirkuk and Sulaimani yah.

The District of Kuwait : " A mud walled village of shepherds, pirates and smuggles where water is more expensive than food. Its gates are shut at dusk." Thus is described Kuwait in the contemporary official records of the Turkish Administration.

During the Turkish rule of Iraq, Kuwait was an integeral part of that country. It was as much a part of Iraq as any coastal state or principality on the fringe of Indo Pakistan sub continent, was a part of India or of

Pakistan. During the time of Midhat Pasha, Kuwait was occupied and populated by the Ghannam sub tribe of As-Sabah (Badoo) tribe of Nejd. The Sheikh of this tribe was appointed by Midhat Pasha as a local chief coming directly under the Sanjak, and later Vilayat of Basrah. Kuwait was therefore under the administrative control of Basrah.

Police : Public order was maintained by regular and reserve forces of the army, by a fleet at Basrah, and by Janderma which was organised by Battalions and Companies. The police force. in fact was not quite adequate to the needs of the country and in matters of efficiency and honesty, left much to be desired.

The Army : The Turkish Army, composed mostly of the Turkoman and the Kurdish soldiers was one of the first class armies of that time. The Nizam-a-Jadid (new organization) of Mahmud II, was modified after the Russian Wars of 1854, and 1897, and was remodelled on the Continental Territorial System. In 1855 under this organization Iraq formed HQ of the 6th Army supporting in peacetime one Corps, the 6th, and in war time three Corps, 6th 12th and the 18th.

The system of recruiting was based on the principle of conscription in settled areas. The unsettled tribal areas paid a house tax

in lieu and any conscripted person could buy exemption. The organization by Nadham (regular) Radeef (first reserve) and Mustahfidh (second reserve) was elaborate and on the whole suitable to requirements. The staff, establishment, training and instructions were in general, in line with those of a modern army. Formation and unit H. Q. were found each in its appointed place. In equipment there was no uniformity and the existence of arms of various pattern badly affected the efficiency of the Turkish Army stationed in Iraq.

Navy: The Shatt-ul-Arab Navy was and had been for scores of years, a decayed service of no value whatsoever save for firing salute and precariously conveying troops.

Judical System: The judical system of Iraq showed signs of reform. In fact it was a sort of compromise between Islamic Shariat and Code-de-Napoleon.

Municipal Life: The Turkish regime, most contrary to what was presented to Western Europe, was among the first in the world to establish democratic type of government based on the will of the masses. The elected president and council of a town meeting regularly to transact their business of watch and ward, street cleaning and watering,

lighting, bridges, repairs, supervision of the buildings, and had a pleasant municipal pride. The institutions of Baladiya were given further strength by Midhat Pasha and by 1900 every considerable village had one municipal committee each and Baghdad had three. The department of Najah (public works) and the quarantine stations did exist with their real benefit to the genaral public. Public hospitals existed in Baghdad and Basrah.

Education: Education on secular lines had just made its headway in Iraq purely due to Midhat's efforts. The literacy increased from half percent in 1850 to five percent and then to ten percent in 1900. Christian and Jewish schools were formed at biggar towns. Government maintained, besides military schools, free primnry schools at every Qadha headquarters. A boys secondary school was founded in Baghdad in 1870 and a girls primary school in 1898. Turkish language was the medium of instruction.

The department of Tapu (land registery) founded by Midhat Pasha was functioning well. The important department was that of Awqaf (Religious endowments) certain percentage of the revenue from Awqaf was appropriated to the secular requirements of local

government and the surplus credited to the Imperial purse at Istambul.

Railways : Germany had by that time gained considerable influence at Istambul and by 1883 completed Balkan Railways thereby getting a direct access to Istambul. In 1888 Germany obtained lease from Turkey to complete the "Haydar Pasha Ismat" line; by 1893 the Angora line was completed. By 1900 the German position was permanent in Turkish railways and could not be regarded merely industrial. In 1899 Kamia Gulf concession were confirmed, and a German commission visited Kuwait. In Iraq (1903) the coming German railways was a burning topic. In 1912 the first tugs and barges arrived and by 1914 the Baghdad—Sammarra section was complete.

V

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

On November 5, 1914 France and Great Britain declared war on Turkey and on that very date an Indian Force of 5000 troops was sent to Mesopotamia "to secure neutrality of the Arabs, to safeguard interest in the Persian Gulf, to protect oil-fields, and generally to maintain the authority of own flag in the East." After several reverses General Maude entered Baghdad on March 11, 1917. He issued a proclamation sanctioned by the War Cabinet which included among the following :—

" Our armies have not come to your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators. The British Government does not want to impose upon you an alien institution. I am commanded to invite you through your nobles and elders and representatives to participate in the management of your civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain,

who accompany the British Army so that you may unite with your kinsmen in the North, East, South and West in realising the aspirations of your race." Strangly enough, this exactly is what Arabs want.

The General Officer Commanding was assisted by Chief Political Adviser (Sir Percy Cox) for the establishment of civil government under military supervision.

In the meantime various secret pacts made with different nationalities and powers were brewing to turn Iraq (including Mosul) into a British Protectorate, when on January 8, 1918, the fourteen points of President Wilson turned the table. Point 12 contained the important declaration, "The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolute opportunity of autonomous development."

On June 16, 1918, Commander Hogorth conveyed a message of the British Government to the seven Arab leaders who had assembled at Cairo to demand Arab independence in accordance with Marshall Macmahon's promise to King Hussain of Mecca. This message declared that "area formerly

under Ottoman dominion occupied by the Allied Forces during the present war, i.e. Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, should be governed under the principle of the consent of the governed."

The armistice of Mudrus was signed on October 30, 1918, and on November 7, 1918, the joint Anglo-French declaration gave an assurance to the Iraqi people that it was the intention of Great Britain and France to establish national governments and administration deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of indigenous population.

This declaration was looked at with displeasure by Sir A. T. Wilson, the acting Civil Commissioner in Iraq, who wanted British Government to exploit the valuable oilfields of the country instead of establishing any indigenous Government there. In fact the declaration was a "mere lip service to the doctrine of Woodrow Wilson. In the Peace Conference of Paris, France agreed to the establishment of a British mandate over Iraq including Mosul and Palestine provided British gave her a right to share in the oil of Mosul and mandate over Syria. From November 1918 to May 1919 various communications were held between the acting Civil Commis-

sioner of Iraq and the British Government as to the appropriate form of Government that was to be set up in Iraq. They all agreed on holding a plebiscite on the issue of an Arab Ameer responsible to a Britain High Commissioner." The plebiscite was actually held but strictly manipulated by the acting Civil Commissioner. One fact, nevertheless came out very clearly that there was a general demand for inclusion of Mosul in Iraq. Thus the design to detach the Vilayat of Mosul from the rest of Iraq—(with an obvious purpose of keeping a strong foot hold at one of the richest oilfields and an important strategic point) was foiled. For this very reason the interested powers had been juggling with the theory that the Kurds, mostly inhabiting the Mosul Vilayat form a separate nation. The people of Iraq and the Kurds themselves soon saw through the game and one sincere soul, Lawrence of Arabia stood hard to set up an independent Iraqi state under Faisal who had seved the Allies so well as Commander-in-Chief of the Arab Forces.

The Arabs got another shock when Article 22 of the Covenent of the Versailles Treaty laid down the principle of mandate administration for territories belonging to the former Turkish Empire.

Discontent rapidly spread all over the country and every educated Arab in Baghdad became a member of secret societies whose objects were to drive out the foreigners and set up a pan-Arab independent state. Thus the forces, let loose by Lawrance of Arabia— the forces that disrupted the integrity of Turkish Empire, were now finding as natural downward slope towards the unification of all Arab countries as one Arab State.

The San Renu Conference of 24th April 1920, allocated the mandate over Syria to France and over Palestine and Mesopotamia to Great Britian. King Faisal was soon to leave Syria due to the French pressure. The nationalist leaders and supporters of Faisal returned to Iraq, and carried on a tearing and raging campaign against the British administration in Baghdad. The whole country suddenly rose as one body against the mandate and for five or six months ending with November 1920 there were disturbances every, where. A constitution committee, presided over by Sir E. Borham Coater, submitted a report on establishment of a "form of representative government most suited for Iraq", but the report was rejected as it did not go "far enough."

On 17th June 1920 the British Government sent the text of an announcement to Baghdad which contained the following :—"His Majesty's Government having been entrusted with the Mandate for Mesopotamia, anticipate that the Mandate will constitute Mesopotamia an independent state under the guaranttee of the League of Nations and subject to the Mandate of Great Britain ; that it will lay on them the responsibility for the maintenance of internal peace and external security, and will require them to formulate an organic law to be framed in consultation with the people of Mesopotamia, and with regards to the rights, wishes and interests of all the communities of the country."

On 11th October 1920, Sir Percy Cox arrived in Baghdad as High Commissioner and on 1st October he proposed the setting up of a provisional government, a council of Arabs, supervised by British advisers and under the control of the High Commissioner. The Naquibe of Baghdad was consulted to become the President of the first Arab Council of State of Iraq which met for the first time on 2nd November 1920. On 11th November the High Commissioner declared in a formal announcement that (a) there shall be constituted a council of state consisting of Pre-

sident and Ministers for the following departments—Interior, Finance, Justlce Awqaf, Education and Health, Defence, Public works, Commerce and such other members without portfolios as may be nominated, and, (b) until the organic law is promulgated and brought into effect, the council of state and the ministers shall be responsible for the conduct, (subject, to my supervision and control) of the administration of the Government except in matters of foreign affairs, military operations and general military affairs.

On November 13, 19ـ0 in the third meeting of the Council the instructions for the council of state, determining the relations between its Arab Ministers and British advisers, were finally adopted and became, so to say, the first constitution of Iraq. The Arab ministers were declared as responsible heads of various departments of state, subject to the (*i*) control of the council of state, (*ii*) advice of the British advisers, and (*iii*) the supreme authority of the High Commissioner. The country was divided into several liwas (districts) and at the head of each an Arab officer was appointed.

In December 1920, the boundary limit between Iraq and Syria was finally settled. While in March 1921, a conference to discuss

the Middle East affairs was held in Cairo. The Arab groups were represented and Mr. Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, was the leading figure in all deliberations. The conference decided the political fate of the Arab territories and to Abdullah was given the thorne of Transjordan while Faisal the third son of Hussain was declared the King of Iraq. But by far the most vital decision of the Conference was that the British Govt. will clear out of Iraq provided the security of British communications from the Eastern Mediteranean to the head of the Persian Gulf were assured. This assurance was materialized by the Anglo Iraqi Treaty, proposed by king Faisal who in return received the active support of the British Government. The Naquib who had so long opposed Faisal, now withdrew his opposition, while Faisal's only rival Sayyid Talib Pasha suddenly disappeared and reappeared in Ceylon in exile.

On 11th July the council of state decided that Faisal should be the king of Iraq provided that "His Highness's Government shall be constitutional, representative and democratic and limited by law". Plebiscite was held and Faisal got 97% votes and on 25th August 1921, Faisal was proclaimed king of Iraq by the High Commissioner

who declared, "The Council of State, has in pursuance of the proposal of the Prime Ministei unanimously agreed to proclaim the AmirFaisal as King of Iraq in their meeting held on 11th July 1921, on condition that his Government will be constitutional, parliamentary, democratic and bound by law. In my capacity as the representative of His Majesty the King of Britain, I have considered, if necessary, to sound the collective opinion of the people of Iraq before giving my consent to that decision. Upon my wish a plebiscite has been held, the result of which shows that 97% are agreed as to the proclamation of Amir Faisal, as King of Iraq. I therefore declare His Highness the Amir Faisal, the as a King of Iraq, and that His Britannic Majesty's Government, has recognised His Majesty as the King of Iraq. Long live the King."

The Council of Ministers subsequently met and sent the following letter to His Majesty. "Your Majesty, the practice in force in constitutional states necessitates that the cabinet should withdraw when a change occurs to the form of government. As the occassion of Your Majesty to the throne of Iraq and the establishment of a permanent constitutional government are two happy

changes, I therefore together with my colleagues withdraw from office."

The Duel Government : On 10th September 1921, by a Royal Iradah the Cabinet was reconstituted under the premiership of Abdul Rahman Effendi-al-Naqib and Iraq began her career of constitutional, though not a responsible government. The position of the High Commissioner, the King and the Ministers have been rightly declared by Foster as follows :—

"The King and the High Commissioner agreed that every executive and legislative decision taken by the Iraqi Government, should from the date (23rd August 1921), be taken in the form of a resolution of the council of ministers which had to be submitted to the King for his approval. A copy of the resolution at the same time to be sent to the High Commissioner and King undertook not to approve of it until he had either received the comments of the High Commissioner upon it or been told that he desired to make no comment." In other words the King was responsible to the council of ministers and to the High Commissioner.

The draft mandate for Iraq was drawn up and promulgated but it soon met with organised resistance from all quarters. The

idea of replacing mandate by a treaty was sponsored by Miss Gertude Bell and later by Rt. Hon H.A.L. Fisher who accepted this idea in the Council of the League of Nations. The drafting of the treaty, however, became a difficult task when the British Government insisted that the Treaty must contain all the essential elements in the mandate, empowering His Majesty's Government to discharge all its obligations in the League. The King's sympathy was distinctly with the Nationalist and with the Arab aspirations but he had to give way to the wishes of the British High Commissioner. Ultimately article 3 of the Treaty reproduced the obligations for framing an organic law contained in Articles I and 8 of the mandate. Article 8 of the Treaty reproduced the provisions of Article 4 of the mandate forbiding leasing or ceding of Iraqi territories to foreigners. Article 9 of the Treaty contained the provision of Article 6 declaring the abolition of capitulatory rights in Iraq.

The draft of the treaty, naturaly, was strongly opposed by the Iraqi Council of Ministers, while the various national parties, Al-Huzb-ul-Watani, Huzb-ul-Najah and Al-Huzb-ul-Hurr demanded its total rejection. The ministry of Naqib resigned but Sir Percy

remained stubborn and at long last after the recovery of King from his illness and the return of Naqib, the Anglo Araqi Treaty was signed by the Council subject to the condition that it must de ratified by the Assembly.

The 1921 *Treaty*:—The treaty did not declare Iraq a sovereign state but Great Britain agreed to give advice and help at her request "without prejudice to Iraq's national sovereignty." Great Britain was to be represented in Iraq by a High Commissioner (Art I). Art 3 declared "His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to frame an organic law for presentation to the Constitutional Assembly of Iraq and to give effect to the said law which shall contain nothing contrary to the provision of the present treaty and shall take account of the rights, interests and wishes of all population inhabiting Iraq. In foreign relations Iraq was to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty tendered through the High Commissiner during the period of the treaty (Art 4). Ariticle 6 of the treaty provided that as soon as the frontiers of the new, state were defined and a stable constitutional government formed, negotiations should begin on the application of Iraq for the membership of the League of Nations which was the sole means by which the Mandate could

be terminated. Art 13, provided that the treaty must be ratified by the Constituent Assembly of Iraq and would remain in force for 25 years from the date of ratification unless before that date Art 6 had come into effect, or the provisions of the Treaty had been revised. One of the Articles of the Treaty provided for the conclusion of supplementary agreements regarding military, judicial and financial matters (which, later on were completed on the 25th of March 1924). Disputes as to the interpretation of the Treaty were to be refered not to Geneva but to the Permanent Court of International Justice at Hague.

On 21st October writs were issued by royal decree for the election of the National Constituent Assembly under the Electoral Law of 1st May 1922.

In the electoral law it was definitely mentioned that the function of the assembly elected under this law was to be strictly confined to the ratification of the three documents only viz. (I) the organic law, and (2) the Election Law itself add the Anglo Iraqi Treaty of 1922. Election was to be held in two stages. All male citizens of 21 years and over, paying taxes to the Government, were given primary votes, for every 250 primary votes there was

to be secondary elector (Art 7). But members of legislature must be at least 30 years old, know how to read and write and must reside within their respective constituencies (Art 8). There were to be 100 members, 80 chosen by the villages and town (including five seats for the Jews and Christan), and 20 by the tribes.

Unfortunately a certain section exorted the people to boycott the elections, and the Nationalists strongly opposed the "20 years" terms of the Anglo Iraqi Treaty. However, Sir Percy succeeded in persuading the British Government to reduce the duration of the Treaty from 20 to 4 years in deference to public opinion in Iraq. A supplementary Protocal to that effect was brought by Sir Sykes from London, and signed by the Iraqi Council on 30th April, 1923 which fixed the life of the treaty to 4 years from the date of the ratification of the peace treaty with Turkey.

In the meantime, preparations were going on for the drafting of the organic law. The British drafters had several factors to consider. The organic law must (i) contain nothing contrary to Anglo Iraqi Treaty of 1922, (ii) that it took account of the rights, wishes and interest of all population inhabiting Iraq (iii) that ensures complete freedom of con-

science, worship and cultural development of all the minorities in Iraq (obligations contained in the Mandate and Article 3 of the Treaty, and (iv) that the Government of Iraq should be constitutional, representative and democratic limited by law the conditions subject to which King Faisal ascended throne.

The constitution was to embody additional provisions enabling the British Government to discharge responsibilities as a Mandatory power of the League of Nations. The English drafters thought that all those could be provided for firstly, by reserving as much executive and legislative power as possible to the King and through him to the High Commissioner in his advisory capacity. Secondly by depriving the elected chamber of all obstructive powers and, thirdly by making any ammendment to the constitution almost impossible. A draft was accordingly drawn up at Baghdad early autumn of 1921 by Major H. M. Young of the Middle East Department of the Colonial Cffice. The draft contained provisions taken from Australian and Newzealand constitutions. After King Faisel had accepted that in principle, it was taken to London. The draft required the King's preliminary approval of all legislation. All matters related to the Treaty of 1922,

could be dealt with by the king in council alone (Art 30 of the draft). He was empowered to modify all legislations.

The Baghdad Committee, to whom the draft was referred, opposed it on many points—consequently it was revised by the British Colonial Office and was submitted to a committee composed this time of Naji Pasha and another Englishman. The work of this committee known as "Baghdad-Redraft", further reduced powers of the king. The ministers were made responsible to Parliament. The king's right of preliminary approval and of dissolving the Senate was withdrawn but the judicial adviser proposed that the king should be empowered to legislate by ordinances in matters relating to supplies and the Treaty obligations. The Iraqi ministers however opposed this, meanwhile the British general Elections of 1922, enabled the Iraqi issue to be brought before the English public.

The Constitutional Developments : The primary elections for the constituent Assembly were completed in December and the secondary elections on 5th February 1924. On 24th March, the King opened the

Assembly with a speech from the throne. 84 members were present. They were asked by the King to give their verdict on the organic law, the electoral law and the treaty. Several groups led by Yasin Pasha, Naji Pasha Assuwaidi, Rauf Beg Al-Chaderchi and Sheikh Salim-al Khayyun (a tribal leader) opposed the treaty on different grounds. Outside the assembly it met with great opposition from the nationalists. But the British Government refused to amend the treaty any further. The cabinet of Jafar Pasha resigned, but as Yasin Pasha, the chairman of the treaty committee of the chamber, refused to form a cabinet, Jafar Pasha was persuaded to carry on. The treaty committee also recommended amendments to both the treaty and the subsidiary agreements which were by this time completed. According to the terms of the British official agreements, Iraq was bound to appoint British Officers on contract in 13 specified posts, viz. in the Ministry of Interior, of Finance, Defence, Justice, Communication and Works, Directors or Inspectors of Irrigation, Public Works, Agriculture, Land-Registration, Surveys, Veterinary Service, Police, Post Office, Health, Education, Customs of Excise, Courts of Appeal, and at Government Audit.

Every British Officer received letters of appointment from the British High Commissioner ; the following, inter alia, was written "The secretary of States desires me (High Commissioner) to point out to you that although you and your colleagues will not be officially responsible to His Britannic Majesty's Government, your appointment has only been approved in full confidence that you will use your influence to secure the attainment of these subjects, that is, (i) that the interests of foreigners are adequately protected, (ii) that the financial interests of British Government are safeguarded, (iii) that the best possible use is made of the country, and (iv) that administration confirms to the traditions and principles of progressive and enlightened Government.

By another military agreement it was agreed that Iraq should have at the earliest possible date full responsible government both for internal order and external defence, but in the meanwhile the Iraqi Army was to be under the direction (and in the event of joint action), under the control of the British High commissioner. Great Britain was also to maintain an Imperial Garrison (leavy) of locally recruited forces in Iraq for safeguarding Imperial communications and of assisting

Iraq. Iraq was to spend twentyfive per cent of her revenues for the maintenance of her Army. The financial agreement provided for the transfer to Iraq of roads, bridges, telegraph, telephones, irrigation works constructed by British capital in Iraq during the war time at a total valuation of £7,000,000, and the Port Basrah at 72 laks of rupees. Thus a sort of dual government started functioning in Iraq with all the vices and vicious results for the Iraqis. The Iraqi public opinion got sufficiently educated by this time to see through the game and the resentment to this was natural.

The Constituent Assembly, despite all the political wirepullings was not agreeable to accept the treaty. There was a great amount of political discontent and the Constituent Assembly refused to accept the treaty with all its subsidiary agreements.

Great Britain threatened the Assembly that she will revive the Mandate (with all its vices) if the treaty was not ratified by 10th June 1924. In fact, a notice was actually given to the League Council to that effect on 21st May 1924.

On the 10th June, the assembly not deciding anything, "the deputies", as Maine points out, "who had gone home were brought

back (some by force), and compelled, though it was the early hours of the 11th, to accept the Treaty and its subsidiary Agreements." Out of the 100 members of the Assembly, only 69 were present and 37 out of them voted in favour of the Treaty 24 members opposed it while 8 refrained from voting 'through fear of assasination.' The resolution of the acceptance was however, conditional. It ran thus—"The Assembly considers that many of the Articles of the Treaty and Agreements are so severe that Iraq would be unable to discharge the responsibilities of the alliance demand from the people of Iraq. But it relies upon and trusts the honour of the British Government......that (they), after the passing of the Treaty, will endeavour to adjust the financial agreement in the generous spirit characteristic of the noble British people. In view of this, the assembly recommends that His Majesty the King should ratify the Treaty, Protocol and Agreement provided that immediately after such ratification His Majesty shall enter into negotiations with the British Government for securing the amenments requested by the Committee of the Assembly. This Treaty shall be null and void if the British Government fail to safe-

guard the rights of Iraq in the Mosul vilayet in its entirety". On the same date the Constituents Assembly passed the organic law unanimously without any important amendment and on 2nd Aug 1924 it also passed the Electoral Law. But the new constitution was promulgated on 21st March 1925, only after the oil concession was granted to Great Britain. The Deputies were elected within three months, and the Senators were appointed by the King in July. The Iraqi Parliament met on 16th July 1925.

On 4th August 1924, the Ministry of Jafar Pasha was succeeded by that of Yasin-ul-Hashmi. On 2nd September 1924, the League Council approved the Anglo Iraqi Treaty. It agreed that Ottoman capitulations should not exist in Iraq, and appointed a special Commission to enquire into the Mosul issue, on a petition by the British Government under Article I of the Covenant of the League, yet the Commission set out on its own task, found that the Kurds were neither Arabs nor Turks, nor Persians, but imbued with a strong Kurdish national consciousness. Yet it recommended the inclusion of Mosul within Iraq on economic and strategic considerations. The League Council following this recommendation, gave its decision in favour of Iraq though

Turkey challenged legality of the conduct of the League. The League allowed Mosul to Iraq on condition that Kurdish autonomy would be preserved and Great Britain would prolong the mandate over Iraq for a period of 25 years through a treaty, unless Iraq was admitted sooner to the League membership.

By another clause it was provided that at intervel of 4 years, Britian was to consider Iraq's ability to become an independent state. Such an inquiry was to be made for the first time in August 1928.

But no sooner had the treaty between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain (known as the Angora Treaty) was signed on 3rd June, 1926, thus permanently delineating the frontiers of Iraq, that the latter started agitating for the termination of the British Mandate, as its raison d'etre was no longer there.

The people also began to protest against the double set of officials, English and Iraqi, in each Department. On 21st November 1926 the Muhsin ministry was succeeded by that of Jaffar Pasha. Considerable improvements were made in irrigation, agriculture, public health and justice. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was for the first time established and Iraq sent her representatives to London, Angora. Teheran and Cario.

The question of introducing universal military service engaged the attention of its leaders. Great Britain was also satisfied with the administration of the country and presented favourable report to the League. The British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Dobb advocated the early admission of Iraq into the League, and Great Britain agreed to revise the Treaty of 1922. King Faisal and his ministers began negotiations in London and on 14th Decemder 1927 a new Treaty was signed in London but it conceeded very little to Iraq. The first article' declared Iraq to be an independent sovereign state, while Art. 8 said that British Government would support the candidature of Iraq for admission to the League in 1932 "provided the present rate of progress in Iraq is maintained and all goes well in the interval."

This Treaty in Iraq met with organised resistence from the Nationalist Party. Yasin Pasha and Rashid Ali resigned from the Jaffari ministry which also fell on January 7, 1923. On January 14, Abdul Muhsin formed his third ministry, composed entirely of the Progressive Party. On January 19 Parliament was dissolved, fresh elections were held and the second parliament met on May 19, 1928. The negotiations for the revision of

the subsidiary agreements completely failed, and again political unrest spread everywhere. The British Report for 1928 contained the following lines :—"......the idea is growing that the treaty of alliance concluded with Great Britain in 1922 set up a state of affairs which if continued, will not only impede the realisation of the country's political aspirations, but will also prove inimical to the economic and social development of the country. The Iraqi critics argue that the Government of a country by two powers—one foreign and the other nationalist, is an abnormality which, although possibly feasible in theory is not in practice a workable scheme."

On April 28, 1929, the Muhsin Ministry resigned and Taowfiq-as-Sowaidi formed a new Government. In Great Britain the Labour Party came into power, and the Labour Government declared that it would unconditionally support Iraq's application for League membership. In September, 1932, therefore the British Government informed the League accordingly and sent the following (on September 14, 1922) to King Faisal through the High Commissioner. "(a) That the British Government were prepared to support Iraq's candidature for admission to the League of Nations. (b) That the

British Government would at the next session of the League of Nations inform the Council that they had decided not to proceed with the Treaty of 1927. (c) That the British Government would also at the same time inform the Council of the League of Nations that they proposed in 1932 to recommend Iraq to the League of Nations." On September 19, Abdul Muhsin Beg accepted the King's invitation to form a nationalist ministry, but on November 13, 1929, he committed suicide as a resnlt of "conflict of loyalties." The Iraqi people demanded complete independence which the British Government refused to concede before the League terminated the Mandate.

Naji-as-Suwaidi formed a new Ministry on November 18, while in January 1930, the High Commissioner, Sir Francis Hamphreys (famous for dethronment of King Amanullah of Afghanistan) issued a second letter to the British Advisers, in which he gave them directions for effecting a more rapid and complete devolution of authority to Iraqi officials. The Sowaidi Ministry was replaced by that of Nuri Pasha on March 13, 1930, and on June 30, 1930, the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty formed on the model of the Anglo-Egyptian Draft Treaty of 1910,

was signed. It was ratified on January 16, 1931 by the Chamber of Deputies elected especially for this purpose, by 69 to 12 votes, and by the Senate by 12 to 5 votes. The Iraqi press Al-Alam-al-Arabi, Al-Bilad, etc., opposed the treaty, as putting fetters on the free movement of Iraq for a quarter of century longer. "The premable declared it was concluded on terms of complete freedom, equality and independence" Article I established a perpetual peace and friendship "between the two Governments, a close alliance and a full and frank consultations between them in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests." The parties undertook not to adopt any foreign policy which might be inconsistant with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other party." By Article 2 there would be ambassadors. By Article 3 the contracting parties agreed to settle their disputes in accordance with the provisions of the League Covenant. By Article 4, they also undertook to aid each other as allies should any one of them become "engaged in war" or in the event of "an imminent menace of war."

The King of Iraq was to help Great Britain by way cf furnishing "on Iraq territory all facilities and assistance in his power

including the use of railways, rivers, ports. aerodromes and means of communications." By Article, 5 without prejudice to the soveirgn rights of Iraq, the Treaty authorised the British Government to maintain air bases in the vicinity of Basrah and of the west of Euphrates, as well as to maintain British forces in those localities (at Hinaidi and Mosul for five years), in accordance with terms of the Annexure to the Treaty. Iraq also undertook to appoint British military instructors, if foreign instruction was shought to be at all necessary, to equip the army with the same type of equipment as those of the British forces and to offer the traditional immunities and privileges to the British army in Iraq. By Art. 7, all the previous treaties cancelled. Arts. 9 aud 10 provided that the relations of the contracting parties should always be subject to the League Covenent. By Article 11, the treaty was to come into force on Iraq's admission into the League and to remain in force for 25 years from that date, after which the parties will "at the request of either of them, conclude a new treaty which shall provide for the continued maintenance and protection in all circumstances of the essential communications of His Britannic Majesty." The freaty also covered four notes

the first of which gave precedence to the British ambassador over those of other countries in the Court of Iraqi, the second note provided for a separate financial agreement. The third one required that British officials should be appointed if and when the service of foreign official would be required. The new judicial agreement replaced the agreement for of March 25, 1924, and made provisions for the setting up of a uniform system of justice "applicable to all Iraqis and foreigners alike" (Arts 2). To facilitate the working of the new system, it was provided that some British judicial experts (nine for 10 years), selected by the King of Iraq with concurreuce of His Britannic Majesty were to serve in Iraq in the Ministry of Justice, invested with all judicial powers under the laws of the country in the following capacities: Judicial Adviser, President of the Court of Appeal and Cassation and Presidents of the Courts of First Instance at Baghdad, Basrah and Mosul."

The Treaty as well as the actual conditions in Iraq were discussed by Mandates Commission of the League in June 1931 which insisted that a League representative should be placed in Iraq to supervise the guarantees provided by Iraq for the minori-

ties, viz, Kurds, Assyrians, Christians, Jews, etc.

But as the British Government undertook moral responsibility "should Iraq prove herself unworthy" of independence, the Mandates Commission, withdrew its former condition, and agreed that Iraq should be emancipated, provided the new state would give guarantee to the League as to the protection of the minorities, the privileges and immunities to foreigners, freedom of conscience and worship and faithful observance of the financial obligations of the former mandatory power and the international conventions. On May 19, 1932 the League Council approved of recommendations of the Mandates Commission, and declared that though some provisions of the Treaty were unusual, yet "the obligations entered into by Iraq towards Great Britain did not explicitly infringe the independence of new State." Lastly, it added that on the admission of Iraq into the League membership, the Mandate would terminate. Iraq accepted the guarantees as contained in the declaration drawn up by a special Committee of the League. On October 3, 1932, the Mandate terminated, and Iraq became a full-fledged sovereign state.

Constitution of Iraq: The Constitution of Iraq was drawn up subject to the terms of the Mandate and the Treaty of 1922. The Constitution contains 123 Articles divided into ten parts. Arts. 1—4 are introductory, describing Iraq as sovereign state, having a constitutional, hereditary monarchy and a representative government. Baghdad to be the Capital. The first part of the constitution (Arts 5-8), describes the rights of the people. Equality before law, (Art, 6), security of personal liberty and rule of law, (Art. 7), inviolability of domicile, security of private property and guarantee against forced loans or confiscation of movable or immovable property or illegal and discriminatory taxation (Arts. 8-11), freedom of expression of opinion, of publication, association, conscience and security of postal correspondence—are all specifically mentioned in the contitution. Arabic is the official language. Though Islam is the official religion (Art. 13), yet, freedom to practise the various forms of workship "in conformity with accepted customs" is guaranteed to all inhabitants of the country, provided that such forms do not conflict with the maintenance of order and discipline or public morality. The various communities have right to establish their

educational institutions, but instructions have to be "carried out in conformity with such general programmes as may be prescribed by law" (Art 16). Government appointments to be open to all Iraqis, "without discrimination, in accordance with their capacity and fitness." Subject to foreign treaties and agreements, none but Iraqis can be employed in Government appointments.

By the National Defence Act promulgated on June 17, 1925, all the male Iraqis between 19 and 21 years have to serve for 2 years with the colour, 4 years in the first reserve and further 4 years in the second reserve. Exception may be bought on payment of 50 Iraqi Dinars (I. D. 50).

Students in secondary, technical and religious schools are allowed exemptions. In actual practice, Iraq is a state not with any sympathy for ancient Mesopotamian traditions or western classical thought, but as Richard Coke pointed out, she is "an arab muslim state with strong Islamic ideals and an oriental back-ground." Her traditions are derived not from the Babylon of the Book of Daniel, but from the Baghdad of the Abbassids. Three years later, another writer, Michael P.A. Langby said the same thing: "Iraq with her holy cities of Kerbela and

Najaf, is loosing her moslem character infinitely more slowly than Turkey or Iran."

Prerogatives of the King: Part II (Arts 19—26) described the prerogatives of the Crown. Art. 19 says:—"......the sovereignty of the constitutional kingdom of Iraq resides in the people. It is a trust confided by them to the King Faisal, son of Hussain and to his heirs after him"—a provision which is reminiscent of the Persian Constitution. The law of succession regulates the details of succession. The king on accession, is bound to take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution before a joint meeting of the two Houses of Legislature.

In theory the King was as constitutional a monarch as His Britannic Majesty. But in actual practice, both king Faisal and King Ghazi (1933—1939) actively participated in the affairs of the state. The British Government in order to carry out its obligations under the Mandate and the Treaty of 1922, compelled the king to fall in line with their directions, thus inducing him to exercise his prerogatives, and sometimes even to go beyond them, for restraining the radical nationalism of the popular ministers. Thus in 1930, Naji Pasha as-Suwaidi was com-

pelled by the king to resign as the British High Commissioner did not like his "complete independence" ideals. In fact, all the sixteen ministries in his reign 1921—1933) had to go out, not on a vote of no-confidence of the Chamber, but rather contrary to provisions of Art, 66 of the constitution, because they lost the king's confidence. In each ministry, the Prime Minister was appointed by the king in consultation with the High Commissioner. But the later always interfered with the Prime Minister's choice of his colleagues. The king also interfered with all the three Parliamentary elections, though at times, his intervention worked for the good of the country, as in the election of 1937, he opposed the practice of sending confidential letters to the Mutaserrifs, a practice desired by the High Commissioner. He also played the role of a benevolent despot, uniting the various opposing sects, initiating various development projects, and so on. King Ghazi also tried to control the Government by procuring the resignation of Gailani ministry and appointing Jamil Beg Midfal to form a new one (November 9, 1933). Again on April 1935 when the difference between the ministry of General Yasin Pasha al-Hashmi and the newly elected Parliament took a serious

form, king Ghazi dissolved the Parliament by an Iradah and ordered the holding of a new general elections.

The Cabinet : The King's Government was carried on by a Council of Ministers with the following departments :—Foreign Affairs, Interior, Finance, Justice, Defence, Economic and Communications, Education and Wakf ; each under charge of a minister. No one could be a minister who did not possess the qualifications mentioned in Art. 30, necessary for being a member of the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. A minister who is not a member of either House, must find a seat in either House within 6 months from the date of appointment or resign. A minister cannot buy or lease any state property (Art. 64) Arts 65-66 prescribe joint and several responsibility of the ministers as in other parliamentary governments. It is definitely stated that "should the Chamber of Deputies pass a vote of no-confidence in the Cabinet by a majority of members present, the Cabinet must resign. If the resolution in question relates to one ministry only, such minister much resign." But if the Prime Minister or minister concerned requests the postponement of such a vote of non-confidence, the Chambers of Deputies is bound to postpone it, but only

once and for a period not exceeding eight days, during which the Chamber should not be dissolved (Art 66).

During 12 years of Faisal's reign there were 16 cabinets, while during 6 years of Ghazi's reign there were nine Cabinets. The average life of cabinet was less than 9 months. One reason for this instability was the outside intervention in cabinet affairs. Frequent changes based on military intervention occurred with increasing rapidity. First came the coup d'etat of October, 1936 headed by General Bakr Sidqi and accompanied by the bombardment of Baghdad, then his assassination by a soldier on August 16, 1937 when Jamil-al-Midfai came into office after the resignation of Seyed Hikmat Suleiman Ministry, (which was supported by General Sidqi). He in his turn gave way to a bloodless coup d'etat carried through by army officers on December 24-25, 1938, when Nuri as-Said become Prime Minister with the avowed intention of returning to the programme of King Faisal. Nuri himself was compelled repress an attempted coup d'etat on March 21, 1939. However he was finally got rid of through a most outstanding coup in 1958 accomplished by geueral Karim Kassem.

The Legislature : The third part of the Constitution (Arts 27-63) describes the com-

position and powers of the Iraqi Legislature. It prescribed two Houses—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Legislative power vested in the King in Parliament. A senator must be an Iraqi national, 40 years old, and a deputy, 30 years old. None of them should be bankrupt, convict, of foreign national, or lunatic or idiot or related to the king within the prohibited degrees. Persons having material interests in a contract with a public department of Iraq are also excluded (Art 30). The senate was composed of not more than 20 members, appointed by the king "from among persons whose conduct has secured the confidence and esteem of the public and those who have served the state and nation with distinction in the past" (Art 31). Senators were appointed for eight years, half of them retiring every four years. The retiring senators were eligible for re-appointment. The President and the Vice-President of the senate were selected by the members from among themselves for one year, subject to confirmation by the king. They were also eligible for re-election. The Senate assembled and dissolved at the same time as the Chamber. The senators were paid like the deputies. The senate was largely composed of the King's party. It included both Jewish and Christian members. "In practice, how-

ever, the Senate was less powerful than the Chamber. It could not initiate legislation."

Chamber of Deputies: Chamber of Deputies was an elected assembly ; one Deputy elected for every 20,000 males There were in all present 115 Deputies. The method of election is based on secret bullot and reservation of seats for non-muslim minorities (Arts 36-37). The Chamber was elected for four years and sat on the first day of November following the elections. It was convoked by the king. Art 39 says :—"Should the Chamber not be so convoked on that day it shall meet of its own accord." The session lasted for four months, and if extended by the king for urgent business, should not exceed a total period of six months. Actually, however, the king had always prolonged the sessions for shortage of time to discuss numerous bills. The king could order adjournment but lt would not be more than three times in any session and the total period of such adjournment was not to exceed two months. When the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, fresh elections were ordered, and the new Chamber convoked in extraordinary session within a period not exceeding four months from the date of dissolution. But, in any case, a

session could begin on that date (Art 40). A deputy could represent only one constituency, he had to give up government appointments on being elected; he was eligible for re-election. The Chamber decided all election disputes, framed rules for its internal regulation, elected a President, two Vice-Presidents and two Secretaries for one year, from among its members (Arts 43-44). A majority of the members constituted a quorum in each House (Art 52). Supported by ten members, any deputy could propose the enactment of a draft law. "Except in what concerns the financial matters." If the proposal is accepted by the House, it will be sent to Council of Ministers ; who shall prepare the necessary draft law, but if the proposal is rejected by the House it may not be introduced during the same session. The Deputies and the Senators take oath of loyalty to the King and the Constitution. Decision by majority is valid only when "half of the members present, cast their votes" (Art 53). Every member can put question to ministers, but no discussion can be held over them, except in urgent cases, or by consent of the minister concerned, until eight clear days have elapsed. Articles 56-61 mention the usual functions and privileges of the Legislature and its members, including

immunity from arrest for parliamentary speeches or during the parliamentary session, etc. A minister has the right to vote in the House of which he is a member, and can speak in both Houses. No bill can become a law unless it is passed by both the Houses and confirmed by the King. The king may return a bill passed by both the Houses but he must do so within three months ; and if one of the Houses declares it to be an urgent bill, in that case within fifteen days, from the date of its presentation, "together with a statement of the reasons for so doing" (Art 62). If one of the two Houses rejects a bill twice and the other passes it, a joint meeting of the two Houses shall decide its fate, the bill being considered to be passed if it is accepted with or without amendments by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the joint assembly, and if it is then confirmed by the king. If it is not passed in this way, it may not be re-introduced in the Legislature during the current session. But the Constitution does not definitely say what will happen if the king refused to confirm a bill passed several times by the joint assembly. Perhaps the Legislature will pass a vote of no-confidence against the Ministry, and the King without a ministry will be unable

to carry on the government. It is clear, therefore, that the Iraqi Legislature was quite powerful. The landowning class and the tribal sheikhs were predominant in Parliament and had often succeeded in passing such financial measures which promoted their interests. But inspite of all these defects the Chamber has been the rallying ground of Iraqi public opinion and the training field for democracy. It had ventilated many national grievances and had tried to check ministerial irresponsibility, though few cabinets were based on the confidence of the people's Chamber.

The sixth part of the Constitution deals with financial matters. Under Art. 91, no tax can be imposed except in accordance with law. Disposal of state property, grant of monopolies, concessions, exemption from taxation, contracting of loans by the Government, etc., must be in accordance with and subject to a duly passed law. Various rules are also provided for the provisional budget estimates, the payment of salaries, receipt of revenues, auditing of the accounts, etc. Demand for grant can be made only by a minister (Art 105)—Expenditure arising out of Treaties approved by Parliament, or by the Constituent Assembly cannot be reduced

by the Chamber, unless such an amendment is approved by the King (Art 106). The budget estimates must, in the first place, be submitted to the Chamber. But, if Parliament is not sitting, the budget of the preceding year shall be followed. Any urgent expenditure can be met by issuing ordinances under Article 26.

Economic Development : Under the terms of law passed in 1950, which is considered almost a part of the constitution, oil revenues amounting to about 214 million dinars were made available to country's economic development. This amount is assigned to the Development Board—an autonomous agency established in 1950 to ensure greater continuity in the planning and implementation of development programmes.

Provincial Administration : The seventh part of the Constitution deals with the administration of the provinces. The country has been divided into the following 14 districts or Liwas. Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimania, Diyala, Baghdad, Dulaim, Kut, Hillah, Diwaniyah, Muntafiq, Amarah, and Basrah. Each Liwa is administered by Mutasserif, and is sub-divided into Kadhas under Qaimmuqams. The Kadhas are again divided into Nahiyas under Mudirs. Article 111 of

the Constitution lays that these districts should have administrative councils and Municipalities, (municipal councils). Each religious community has got the right of establishing a religious council with powers to administer and supervise the properties under Wakf and of orphans. But these councils, as Article 112 says, "shall be under the supervision of the Government." The provincial administration is highly centralised, the Mutassarrifs follow the orders of the Ministry of Interior, the Qaimmuqams those of the Mutasarrifs, and the Mudirs those of the Qaimmuqams. The Municipalities are also under the general supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. The police force and some local levies, are also controlled by the Ministry of the Interior. There is also Criminal Investigation Department (C. I. D.) doing useful service in a country where murders are so common. The Ministry of the Interior controls the Department of Health, administers the Press Law, manages the Press Bureau by issuing statements and news to the press. It also applies the "Law of Association" which was "designed to control the activities of organisations which might become secret subversive socities."

The Judiciary has been dealt with in the first part (Arts 68-89). Judges are appointed by Royal Iradas. The courts are of three classes:- (1) Civil Courts, (2) Religious Courts, and (3) Special Courts. All of them are free from official interference in the conduct of their affairs (Art 71), and generally hold open sittings. The conditions governing the appointments, promotion and discipline of Judges and Kadhis are set out in "The Judges and Kadhis law," No. 31 of 1929. Under this law, a Committee of Justice has been established in the Ministry of Justice under the chairmanship of the President of the Court of Cassation, invested with all these powers. Under the Anglo-Iraqi Judicial Agreement of 1931, a uniform system of justice applicable to all Iraqis and foreigners alike was established. Nine British experts, selected "by the king of Iraq with the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty" were appointed for ten years in the post of the Judical Adviser, President of the Court of Appeal and Cassation, and Presidents of the Courts of first Instance at Baghdad, Basrah and Mosul. The British Judicial Adviser was empowered to express opinion on draft laws prepared by the Ministry of Justice. He could also propose measures for the proper working of the ministry.

Judges and Kadhis must be Iraqi nationals of at least 25 years of age, possess a good knowledge of Arabic and must be of good character and reputation. Judges are to be graduates of the Iraqi Law College, or of a foreign Schools of Law, and must have been in the legal profession for a certain period. A Kadhi must be either a graduate of the Iraqi Law College or satisfy the Committee of Justice as to his fitness by an examination.

The civil courts have jurisdiction over all Iraqis as well as over Government units, in both civil, criminal and commercial matters. Iraqi laws are applied subject to such special international customs relating to the personal status of the foreigners as are recognised by the Iraqi Government. Religious Courts are of two clases :—

(1) Shara Courts dealing with the personal status of the Muslims and Wakfs, etc., and (2) the Spiritual Councils of the minority communities (Jews, Christians, etc.), dealing with matters of their personal status, marriage, divorce, etc, (Arts 78-80). In the Shariah Courts, the doctrine peculiar to each of the Islamic sects is applied and the Kadhi belongs to the sects whose members are in majority in the district. The judical structure of Iraq is as follows :—

At the head of the system stands the Court of Cassation at Baghdad with a vice-president and six other judges, having the highest appellate jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters. Below it there are six principal courts of First Instance, at Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Kirkuk, Hillah and Baqubah, each with a president and a vice-President and three or four other judges. These courts try civil cases, but when dealing with criminal matters, they are called Sessions Court. Below, there are ten single Judge's Courts (Civil) of first Instance. Criminal matters are dealt with by the Magistrate's Courts which are found in all places where there are civil courts. In fact, these magistrate's courts are constituted of these civil judges exercising magisterial powers of first and second class. The lowest civil courts are the 42 Peace Courts with very limited powers. Administrative officials are sometimes appointed as temporary magistrates in places where there are no permanent courts. They also act as Peace Judges to deal with case of debits due from cultivators. Lastly, there are the Religious Courts dealing with Shariah matters. There are two (one Shia and another Sunni) benches of

Revision in Baghdad. Below them are the Shariah Courts under the Kadhis in all places where there are Civil Courts. Art 88 of the Constitution also provides for Special Courts or Committees to be set up when necessary for dealing with military and tribal cases, and such cases as may arise between the Government and its servants, and those relating to the possession or boundary of lands. Art 81-88 provide for the establishment of a High Court for the trial of Ministers and members of Parliament accused of political offences, and of Judges of the Courts of Cassation.

For any other purpose the High Court shall be convened by means of a Royal Iradah issued in pursuance of a resolution charging the person concerned, passed separately in each case by a two-thirds majority of the members, present in the Chamber of Deputies. The Court must be composed of 4 Senators and 4 Senior Judges all selected by the Senate, together with the President of the Senate, who should be the Chairman of the Court. The High Court has also power to examine matters concerned with the interpretation of the Constitution, and all such laws as affect it. But, for this purpose it will be convoked by a Royal Iradah in agreement with the Council of Ministers and

constituted as before. The decisions of this Court must be determined by a two-third majority of the Judges. If the Court decides that any law contravenes the terms of the Constitution, it must to that extent, be deemed to be repealed ab-initio. There is also provision for another Court—the Diwan Al-Khass whose function would be to render opinions on such points of law as particular Ministers may be doubtfull of (Arts 82 and 121).

Minorities :—Protection to religion, culture and language of the minorities is guaranteed under the Constitution. The minorities are free to have their own schools to impart education in their own language. Even now under the present regime of General Karim Kasesem, interest of the minorities is fully protected and respected. Only recently General Kassem performed opening ceremony of an Armenian Church and attended its first Service. Similarly the cause of education had always reminded above party politics with the result that for the population of five and half million in Iraq, there are now (in 1961) 4,240 Schools. ·These 4,240 Schools are in addition to those of the minority communities imparting relegious and language education of their own. During 1960-61, 573 School of various denomination were opened. The number of



Children elass (P. 194)

students studyihg in different schools, colleges and institutes in the Republic of Iraq stands at 9,52,603, while the professors and teachers total 3 ,555.

VI

THE SECOND WORLD WAR & NATIONAL REVIVAL

Arab Nationalism in Iraq:—History of Iraq would be incomplete without a reference, however passing it may be, to the origin and growth of Arab Nationalism in Iraq. This subject needs volumes, yet within the frame-work of this book, only the outlines on this topic are being given. Arab National move-ment started first from the 'Fertile Crescent,' and not from any other Arab country as is commonly held. The basis of Arabism like that of any other National Movement was the awareness of, and pride in, being an Arab. The oldest centre of Arab Culture was Damascus and Baghdad. The residents of of Damascus and Baghdad whether Muslims or Christians, being themselves the scions of those whom the Arab world is proud of, naturally were the vanguard of Arab renais-sance. Egypt came in late. The Egyptian approach to Arabism was in fact reaction to the French occupation of 1798, and later, to

the Turkish mismanagement in Egypt which in turn was due to the muddling in by the British and the other coloniel powers. The Turk as compared to the native Egyptian was more energatic and enterprising in habits and usually superior in some other physical qualities. He belonged to the governing class. He therefore generated envy bordering on hatred in the heart of the native Egyptian.* This hatred of the Turk as motivated by emotional reasons brought in a corresponding swing towards love for Arabic speaking people irrespective of their racial origin. In the meantime the result of the education imparted by European schools in Lebanon and at other places brought in purely European type of approach to Nationalism among the Arabs. European colonialism was at its zenith which demanded elimination of Turkey from the Middle East as Middle East happen to be on the lines of communication of the vast empire of the British and of other colonial powers. At that stage it suited the European imperialists to foster Arab Nationalism which

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*In Egypt and Syria even now a person with a Turkish wife (who are fairer in colour than the native girls) is held high in esteem among the high brow and the sophisticated class.

happen to serve their immediate requirements. The discovery cf oil in Iraq added to the importance of that region to Europe. During the first World War the already existing emotional and quasai political urge was given international recognition by the movement of King Hussain of Mecca. The repository of th is movement became Iraq as Iraq was the biggest Arab State formed because of the above movement. During the period of Mandate the British occupation further deepened this feeling because of either not fulfilling their promises given earlier, or, by antagonizing the Arab sentiments by treating them as their 'subjects people'. British policy in Palestine and later the establishment of Israel had been the last and the most important factor in promoting the present type of National movement among the Arabs in Iraq.

Quite understandably leadership in political awareness came from Iraqi Army. Army officers had generally been superior to other intellegentia because (a) disciplined life germinates and developes in men their latent virtues (b) the profession teaches self abnegation out of which springs the characteristics necessary for genuine leadership, and (c) Army being the only disciplined body that matters;

its role in politics is bound to bring decisive results. Arab national movement in Iraq, was therefore spear headed either directly by army officers, or, the army was used by political leaders to affect coups to capture and retain power. Army officers in Iraq therefore became as much leaders of national movement as other intellegensia or even a professional politician.

Nationalism of an Iraqi Arab was realistic, patriotic and based more on facts than on mere emotion. Realism in realm of state craft is very essential to the existence of Iraq because of presence in Iraq of a very strong and equally valuable non Arab elements viz the Kurds, the Persian speaking population of Basrah, Karballa, Najaf, Koofa and of a portion of Baghdad (who are Shia of Iranian origin), and the non Arab Christians like the Assyrians and the Armenians. The back ground and the past history of all these people is so bright that they can never be fully Arabized. Iraqi approach to Arab nationalism, therefore, though very much Arab, yet nevertheless is extremely realistic and very accomodating. It is more on the pattern of a "multi national and a multi religious issue"; or for that mater, envisaging "Abrahamistan" rather than a rigid Arabistan;

in that sense, since 'Meemistan' being essentially 'Arabism', it is therefore very far sighted indeed. Since Iraqi approach to Arab nationalism is based upon the supreme virtues of broad mindedness and toleration, it will therefore never perish and shall always succeed to the glory of all the people of Iraq and of the Arab world.

In foreign affairs the Iraqi Government during 1939-41 scored a marked success. It finally settled its boundary disputes with Iran and improved its relations with Turkey and other neighbouring countries. The young king Ghazi was killed in a motor accident under very suspicious circumstances. His three year old son was soon proclaimed King Faisal II under the regency of his maternal uncle, Emir Abdul Illah. On April 3, 1941 there was another military coup in Iraq. Al-Saiyed Rasheed Aali Gailani, the leader of the Nationalist Party and twice Prime Minister of Iraq (once from March 20, 1933 to September 9, 1933 when he resigned due to the death of King Faisal on September 8, 1933, and then from September 9, 1933, when the new King refused to take him as his Prime Minister), again assumed power and became Prime Minister on the 8th April, 1941, with the help of the Iraqi Army.

Rasheed ali-al-Gailani's Coup: Rasheed Aali's Coup is still fresh in the memory of almost every Iraqi and a number of Army officers now serving in Pakistan. The prime cause of that sudden upheaval, like the cause of an earthquake could not be one but nevertheless the principal factor that was responsible for precipitating the revolution was the hatred of Amir Abdul Illah and all that he stood for, and the great frustration of the Arabs from the Allies, specially from the British. Palestine legitimately belonged to the Arabs and procrastination on the part of the British in recognizing this fact made the Arabs more bitter. This bitterness was let loose in this revolution especially on the Jews in Iraq. The German propaganda also played a great-part and sudden and mysterious death of King Ghazi (who was greatly loved by Iraqi's) was used as a lever to rouse suspicions. For a few days anarchy prevailed in Baghdad and Basrah and the Regent Emir Abdul Illah ran away, asking the people and the Government not to give support to Rasheed Aali. Rasheed soon formed his own cabinet which was not anti monarchical; !t was constituted of many Military officers. It had also announced its decision not to repudiate the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930. But Great

Britain refused to recognise the new Government as she believed the action of Rasheed Aali not according to their wishes and "unconstitutional."

Abdul Allah reinstated begining of his end :—On the 11th April, the Iraqi Parliament approved the dismissal of the much hated Regent Abdul Illah and nominated Sherif Sharaf, a senior member of the Hashimists family, as the new Regent during the minority of King Faisal II. But within a month Rasheed Aali was found invoking the help of Nazi Germany against British forces in Iraq who were stationed there in accordance with the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930. Great Britain therefore took direct action against Rasheed Aali. After several skirmishes the British Forces defeated Rasheed's army and air force, and compelled him to leave the country. The old despised Regent was called back much to the dislike of the people and to (ultimately) ill luck of the young king and of his own self. Thus the same "constitutional regime," as existed before Rasheeds coup, was reinstated.

Here we come to an end of the story of a country that has been at times, ruled by Sargon, Hamurabbi ; by Nabuchadnezzar, Kobbadh and Khusroe ; by Calif Harun-al-

Rashid; Ma'mun, Sulaiman Pasha and Midhat Pasha; by King Faisal, King Ghazi, King Faisal II and now for the first time in its history by the will of the people whose symbol is the efficient, the tough, the far-sighted and the patriotic group of army officers headed by Major General Abdul Karim Kasem. With them are attached great hopes of revival of the glory of Baghdad, of forging eternal and most natural bonds of brother-hood between the Christians and the Muslims and between the Arabs and the Kurds thus making Iraq one of the strongest links in the chain of muslim countries of the world. Long live Iraq-Long live Islamic and Christian brotherhood Long live Pakistan.

APPENDIX "A"

Important Contemporary Rulers in Iraq and Indo-Pakistan sub-continent with a list of important events :—

Iraq.	**Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.**
Sumer and Akkad	The Aryan Invasion of India.
The kings before the flood 3000 B.A.	Extermination of the original inhabitants of India by the Aryan invaders.
Dumuzi the shepherd & the god Tammuz.	Sri Krishna and the supermacy of the Brahmin. "Ram Raj" (The Hindu Culture.)
The kings after the flood (3000-2500 B_4 C_4).	Origin of Hindu Fascism. The division of the 'people' into four permanent classes, popularly known as the 'Hindu Cast System.' Inspite of the so called secular bias of the present day India—even now a low caste Hindu is not admitted in a Hindu temple visited by high caste Hindus. Muslim and Christians, of course, are lower than the lowest of the caste. They are worst than the un-
The First Dynasty of Kish	
The First Dynasty of Erech.	
The First Dynasty of Ur.	

Iraq.	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.
	touchables. Even now Muslims are killed by furious Hindus for killing a cow and eating its flesh even for sacrifice purpose as cow is a sacred animal for Hindus and is worshiped by them.
The Second Dynasty of Erech	
The Second Dynasty of Ur.	
The Dynasty of Adab.	
The Dynasty of Mari.	First Revolt against Brahmanical Hindu Doctrine and culture. The Birth of Lord Buddah, (597, B.C.)
The Dynasty of Agade.	
Sargon, the first great conqueror	The second Revolt against Hindu Brahmanical Fascism.
Nebuchadnezzar (604-562) Created new Babylonian Empire, Jews sent into captivity.	The Birth of Vardhana Mahavir, the Founder of Jainism, (599 B.C.

Iraq.	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.
Nebopolassar assumed power at Babelon. Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, 539 B. C.	
The Seleucid Dynasty, 331-129 B.C. Death of Alexandar the great at Babylon,	Alexander's invasiou of India. 327 B. C. Chandra Gupta Maurias, (322-298, B.C.)
Seleucus 1, Nicator. Antiocus 1, Beginning of dissolution of Alexander's empire, 280-221 Antiocus III, he successfully reconquered revolting provinces. Roman ambassadors arrive in the East. Judas Maccabaeus 223-187.	Ashoka, (273-232, B.C.)

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
The Parthian Kings, 247 B. C./A.D. 226.	
Phreates I, defeated Antiocus Sidetes, B. C. 175-70. Mithridates II, the King of Armenia captured Seleucis and extended empire to the Euphrates B.C. 124-88. Orades I, defeated and killed Crassus. Reached the Mediterranean, 57-37 B.C. Phreates V Peace treaty between Rome and Parthia in the year of the birth of Christ, 2 B. C. A.D. 5.	Dynasty of Kanishka.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
Osroez, Trajan campaign against Iraq, 106-129, A.D.	
Artabanus IV, favourable treaty with Rome, 209-227.	
The Sassanian Kings, A.D. 226-636.	
Ardashir founder of the Sassanian dynasty. Fought against Alexander Serverus, 224-241.	
Norsch (Narses), fought against Valerius 293-302.	
Sapor II, defeated Constantius, Juisa's campaign against Iraq, 310-70. A.D.	Chandra Gupta, I, (390-325, A.D.)

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
Sapor III, 383-8.	Samundar Gupta, (326-375, A. D.)
Kobad I, fought against Anastasius and later Belisarius, 498-531, A.D.	Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, (875-413, A.D.)
Khosroes (Khosrau) I, Anushirvan. Reformer and statesman, (probably) built the Arch of Ctesiphon, Sacked Antioch. 531-79.	Harsha Vardhana, (607-647. A.D. Budhism and Jainism driven out by the fanatic Hindu from the country of its birth. A few Budhists shrines survived as they sought refuge in the inaccessable mountains and caves e.g. Ellora, Ajantan, Taxila, Swat; up in the north at Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and on the borders of Burma.
Khosroes II, Pervez. Alliance with Rome afterwards repudiated. Fought against Herselius, 590-628.	History proves that Hindu culture is conducive to disintegeration and fissure—because its basic principle is inequality of man.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
Yezdegered III, 632-51, A.D.	
Arabs. The Abbasid, Caliphs, A.D. 750-1258.	The Arab Conquest of Sindh and the Introduction of Islam in India (711, A.D.)
Abbasid Caliphs, A. H. 132-656 A.D. 750-1258.	
Saffah (Abul Abbas), (A. D. 750) exterminated the Omayyads.	
Mansur, founder of Baghdad 754, A.D.	
Mahdi and Hadi, 775, A.D.	
Harun Al-Ra shid 786,	
Amin (Slain by Mamun.) 786,	

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
Mamun, 813. Mutasim, moved the capital to Samarra, 833. Mutawakkil, built northern part of Samarra, 847	
892, Mutadhid, (Abandoned Samarra). 932, Muiz-ud-Daulah-Abu Husain Ahmed. Great Seljuks (A. D. 1037-1117. 1037. Tughrul Beg. 1063, Alep Arsalan. 1072, Malik Shah, I.	Mahmood of Ghazni 1007-1030. A great and a devout Muslim who spread Islam in India. He invaded India 16 times and 16 times defeated the united might of the Princes and Emperors ef Hindu India. The 17th invasion and the fall of the Somnath temple—the citadel of Hindu Culture. Mahmood took away with him the gates and the deity of this temple back to his country which is now called Afghanistan. The present Afghan rulers have (reportedly) returned to Nehru the trophy of Mahmud of Ghazna and the Somnath temple is restored back to its pre-Muslim glory.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
Seljuks of Iraq and Kurdistan (A.D. 1117-94).	
1132, Tughrul I. 1180, Nasir, built the Talisman Gate.	Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Gauri, (1173-1206). He defeats six different Hindu Kings and extends the Muslim influence to the North of India.
1226, Mustansir, first Mongol threat.	Qutab-ud-Din Aibak (1206 A.D.) The first Muslim Emperor of India. (The Qutab Minar and some of the important historical sites of Delhi date from this period.)
1242-58, Mustasim: sack of Baghdad by the Mongols.	Sultan Altamash (1211-1286) Razia Sultana, the first Muslim Queen Empress of India. (1236-1249).
Mongols, Persians and Turks,	Ghyas-ud-Din Balban, (1266-1296).

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
1256, Hulaku.	Dynasty of Khiljies. (1290-1320).
1393, Taimur-Lang (Timarlane) occupies Baghdad.	Dynasty of Tughlak (1320-1420). 1398. Taimur's invasion of India.
1509, Baghdad occupied by the Persians. End of white Sheep Dynasty. The Safawid Dynasty of Persia.	1414-1450. The dynasty of Sa'dat, 1450-1526. The Lodhi Dynasty.
Ismail Shah. 1524, Tahmasp Shah.	1517-1526. Ibrahim Lodhi.
1533, Ottoman Turks invade Iraq. Persians retire.	Moghal Dynasty. 1526-1530, Zaheer-ud-Din Babar. The first Moghal Emperor of India. 1526 the first battle of Panipat.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
1534, Occupation of Baghdad by the Ottomas. Sultan Sulaiman End of first Persian period, beginning of Turkish period, Sulaiman Pasha I Wali of Baghdad. Avas Pasha.	1536-1556, Humayun Padshah, (Some of the Important building of Delhi and Agra belong to this period.) The Suri Interlude. 1540. Sher Shah Suri defeats Humayun, 1540-1545. The 'Suri' kings. Akbar the Great Mughal. 1556-1605.
1618. Yusuf Pasha 1621. Sulaiman Pasha.	Most of the famous buildings at Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and other important Indian towns belong to this period. (The fusion of Hind culture). Musulman Kings legislate, against some of the most barbarious customs of Hindu Society e.g. killing of female children, burning alive of the wife along with the body of her deceased husband, child marriage, etc, etc.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
1638. Sack of Baghdad by Sultan Murad IV. End of Second Persian Period, Kuchuk Hassan Pasha.	1605-1627. Emperor Jahangir. 1658-1707. Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. The Shalamar gardens and the Badshahi Mosque of Lahore belong to this period.
1704. Hassan Pasha. Brought the Mamluk System to Baghdad.	The East India Company firmly established; 1646. The French East India Company also formed. A period of Hindu renaissance.
1723. Ahmad Pasha (I) Assumed authority over the whole of Iraq.	1739. Nadir Shah's invasion of India. This haustened the decline of Moghal Empire.
1749. Sulaiman Pasha Abu-Lailah.	1748. Ahmad Shah Abdali and the defeat of the Marhattas in the third battle of Panipat. The scene of interest shifts to the British East India Company, which starting from a purely mercantile concern, now started taking

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
	active part in the politics of India. In fact it governed a substantial portion of the Indian sub-continent.
1780. Buyuk Sulaiman Pasha (The Great) Sack of Kerbala by the Wahabis	The arrival of Armenians in the region now called East Pakistan. The Armenian Church is built at Armanitola at Dacca (now in East Pakistan).
1808. Kuchuk Sulaiman Pasha (The Little).	1772-1774. Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal. (A very strange incident in world history where a purely commercial concern takes over the administration of a country). The Rohillas and the 'Begums of Oudh' case. Some of the most inhuman cruelties committed by the British over Indian people and the Muslim prince and princesses.
1617. Daud Pasha. Last of Memluk Governors.	
1631. Great plague and floods. End of Mamluk rule.	The Hindu Brahmin encouraged and given a 'lift' by the British to form a counterweight against the Musulmans—the erstwhile rulers of India.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.
1842. Mohammad Najib Pasha. 1861. Telegraph opened to Baghdad. 1868. Building begun of new Barracks, etc.	1842-1844. The first Afghan War, the defeat of the Sikhs by the British East India Company's forces. 1835-1846. Lord Harding. The sale of Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh for a few lakh of rupees. Large scale migration of Jews into India and their resettlement in trading centres like Bombay and Calcutta.
1869. Midhat Pasha, made considerable reforms. 1899. Namuk Pasha. 1977. Nadhim Pasha.	1857. The first armed revolt against the British rule. 'The territories of India pass over from the East India Company to the British Crown.' 1892, The Indian Council Act Passed. Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan and the renaissance of the Indian Musulmans. 1876. The birth of Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Maulana Shibli, Hali and Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan's efforts towards the education of Indian Musulmans. Aligarh Muslim University established. The Killafat movement.

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
1914. Jawad Pasha. Outbreak of first world war. Dr. Rashid Bey, Sulaiman, Nadhif Bey, Nur-ud-Din. Bey.	The outbreak of the first World War. The Khillafat Movement against the Rowlat Act. Struggle of the Musulmans begin against the Anglo Brahmin Raj. Hindus concieve the idea that 'democracy'—the rule of 'Majority' —will bring in the perpetual slavery of the Christian and Musalmans to the Hindus.
1916. Khalil Pasha.	
1916. General Maude. Capture of Baghdad by the British and Indian Army.	A period of constitutional struggle and administrative reforms.
1919. Sir Arnold Wilson. Inauguration of British civil administration.	1926,——1932 a series of Round Table Conferences. The mask from the hypocratic face of the Hindus Brahmin leaders of Indian National

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
	movement is removed when it became clear that to a Brahmin 'Nationalism' meant reducing the Muslims and Christians, even non-Brahmin Hindus; to the status of 'Sudras' i.e. the untouchable menials. The Muslim Colleagues of Gandhi and of Nehru left the Indian National Congress and founded a separate political organization for the Muslim. Jews and Hindus combined together against Muslims and Christians. Communal riots organised by Hindus massacred thousands of defenceless Muslims.
1920. Rebellion. Sir Percy Cox 1921. King Faisal I, establishment of Iraqi Kingdom. 1924. Ratification of the first Anglo-Iraqi treaty.	

Iraq	Indo-Pakistan snb-continent
1926. Second Treaty. 1927. Third Treaty. 1932. Iraq admitted to the League of Nations. End of the Mandate.	The Government of India Act 1935 passed which gave certain amount of autonomy to province in their provincial subjects. A period of great political unrest.
1938. King Ghazi	The first Jewish organization formed in Bombay with its branches in Calcutta, Madras and Delhi under patronage of Hindu political leaders. This common 'Hindu-Yahoodi' front was formed against the Muslims of India as well as those else where.
1933. King Ghazi 1939. King Faisal II, Out break of the Second World War.	1940. All India Muslim League passed Pakistan Resolution at Lahore.

EPILOGUE.

"The tail end of a book is to be feared.," was rightly said a well known author, as the most difficult part to write is the book's epilogue.

It is more difficult for me as I have to account for this long delay (for two and a half years), that intervened between the original drafting of the brochure, and, in the final printing of it.

Not one but many hurdles had to be crossed before I could reach the stage where I could offer my work for printing in a press.

The first great hurdle was the completion of the work undertaken. For getting this booklet to a successful end, I am greatly indebted to Brigdier Sahibzada Hamid Hussain. It was not only the constant encouragement that urged me to bring this book to a successful end, but was also the great wealth of information and knowledge that Brigadier Hussain possessed about the Arab world specially about Iraq, and from that intimate knowledge of Brigadier Hussain I have ganied a lot.

The second great problem was to obtain permission from the Government to print this booklet and offer it for public sale.

Believe me it took me more than eighteen months before I could get that permission. In fact, but for the efforts of Lt. Col. M.F. Siddiqi and Lt. Col. Khadam Hussain. the manuscript of this booklet might have got lost. I am therefore greatful to both in tracing and recovering an almost lost document from the labyrinths of Karachi and Pindi.

I am also thankful to Lt. Col. Shah-Newaz Khan and Lt. Col. G. E. Jackson. D.F C., both of A.O.C., who not only helped and encouraged me but also made available a great amount of information and suggestions from which I have gained a lot.

Probably this booklet could never have seen the light of publication had Lt. Col. H.W. Way M.B.E. and (the later) Major A.T. Shakir (both of Engineers), not come to my rescue. I cannot fully express my gratitude to them especially to Major Shakir who for the last six monthes had been supervising the printing of this booklet printed in more than two places in Rawalpindi and Lahore.

Of course I will be ungrateful if I do not thank General Sir Douglas Gracey for giving a foreword to my book. As a commander-in-chief of Pakistan Army at a stage when we really had to start from the scratch, con-

tributions of General Gracey towards building up our army are immense and shall always be remembered in history.

This is my first attempt to print a book entirely under my own arrangements and I know that despite repeated corrections there will be scores of mistakes, specially of spelling, punctuation and of construction. To the readers and my friends I request to point them out to me so that the next edition may profit by the first attempt. I must state here frankly that for all the mistakes you will come across, none but I am responsible and I will greatly appreciate any suggestion for the improvement of the next edition.

In conclusion I once more thank all those who helped me in bringing this booklet in the present shape. This willing cooperation on the part of our army officers to help another brother officer is a symbol of that great spirit that prevails in Pakistan Army, where all officers, despite the difference in rank, department or corps are working to build this very young army to one of the finest Military machines of the world.

Clifdon-at-Murree
5 November 1950

A. Waheed.

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